SINDHI CULTURE

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By

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PREFACE

Independence with partition of the country brought in its wake great upheavals and rapid changes that have continued even after a decade, mass migration and rehabilitation of the Sindhis being one of the major ones. Their resettlement will no doubt be easy if one who is assigned the task has also knowledge of their cultural background. This very cultural set-up of the Sindhis forms the subject-matter of this book, which was prepared first as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Bombay 15 years ago under the able guidance and supervision of Dr. G. S Ghurye, the Head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Bombay. At that time the author concentrated his study on the social institutions of the Sindhis. Great changes were destined to take place and the Sindhis had to leave their cherished and beloved homeland as a result of the cultural suffocation and economic extinction and migrate to other distant and different parts of their motherland, without actually knowing where they were going. They have settled now all over India in different and varying environments. As a result, their social institutions have been affected and changed during the process of accommodation to the new environment. The author regrets that he has not been able to take into consideration adequately the present changes in the Sindhi culture. Still he feels that this limitation is a boon in disguise as it has enhanced the value of the study in the sense that all the Hindus of Sind having migrated to India, no student of their culture as it is now can understand it fully without a full view of its basis or background. It can provide a base for the study of social changes among the Sindhis. This as a study of a fast-changing culture, has its own merit. Naturally, the author is not certain as to what would be the future status of Sindhi community in its new setting, yet he has tried to indicate certain possible future trends.

The present study would not have been initiated, worked out and submitted for the Ph.D. degree if there would not have been the inspiring encouragement and able guidance from my teacher and *Guru* Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay. This publication is also a result of Dr. Ghurye's insistence. I owe a great sense of gratitude to him. I am grateful to Dr. M. G. Kulkarni and Dr. A. Bopegamage for their valuable help in giving suggestions and going through and correcting the proofs of the book. I thank also the University of Bombay, which has published the book in its University Sociology Series.

Bombay U. T. THAKUR
March, 1959

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CHAPTER I

THE CRADLE

Sind, a region of the Lower Indus, protected by almost impenetrable barriers from all sides, is well marked off as a separate geographical unit On the west, it rests against the slopes of Khirthar mountains which separate the turbulent hill tribes of Baluchistan from the peaceful dwellers of the Indus Valley. On the east, it gradually passes into the great Indian desert, the Thar, while the Rann of Cutch forms the southern or south-eastern boundary from Rajasthan to the Arabian Sea. At the base of the deltic triangle, the Arabian Sea with its hostile coast protects the mainland, while its narrow apex penetrates into the plains of the five rivers of the north. Amidst this largely protected environment, the fertile valley of the Indus lay exposed to the dangers of foreign invasions throughout the ages from two vulnerable points in its western frontiers, one of which, according to tradition, lay through Kandhar and the other one follows the coastal line and reaches the Indus Valley through the narrow gap between the Khirthar and the Sea.

The archæological discoveries in 1922 revealed a well-developed ancient civilization in this Valley Further explorations did not yield any trace of earlier cultures except what is known as "Amri culture," nor did the lower levels show any appreciable progress in culture, though the bottom of the city has not yet been reached as it lies buried in the subsoil level of water. This culture which was at chalcolithic stage and prospered for a considerable time in India is assigned the date by experts somewhere between 2800 B.C. and 2500 B.C., though its prior levels of development would push its date back by a few centuries more. It extended to the whole of Sind, the Punjab,

Kutch, Kathiawar and other parts of India and embraced a larger area than contemporary civilizations to the west. Its trade communications appear to have existed with Southern India, Kashmir, Mysore and other parts of India, and with centres of contemporary civilizations in Sumer, Egypt and Crete by land and sea.

The city of Mohenjo-daro showed skilful town-planning and sanitation such as never existed in the ancient cities, with strict building regularities for preventing any structure from encroaching on the public streets or roads. Its elaborate drainage system is "the most complete ancient system as yet discovered,"[1] and the roads, streets and lanes are highly well-planned. The houses are commodious and divided into well-sized rooms containing wells and baths, kitchens and courtyards. The houses are plain and well-planned with a flat roof and it appears from the thickness of foundation walls that they were designed for two or more stories. There is a great public bath for ceremonial ablutions for priests and people, a market place, restaurants and a big building, probably for the governor of the city and offices for public administration. There was street lighting; the sanitation was well-looked after and there was a watch and ward system for different quarters.

The traces of animal worship are abundant. It appears that some of them, specially the bull, were considered as vehicles of gods and goddesses. There are many examples where the limbs of bull and the tiger are frequently represented. A composite beast with human face has trunk of an elephant, horns and forequarters of a bull, and hind quarters and tail of a tiger. The goat, the crocodile, the dove and the cobra, the pipal tree, the 'swastika' and the cross also seem to be associated with religion of the Indus Valley people. Belief in charms, amulets and talismans is also evident from the findings of Mohenjo-daro.

In social and economic life, the town presents a cosmopolitan character. The population of Mohenjo-daro was heterogeneous and comprised the racial types of Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpinoid and Mongoloid. There is also evidence of racial mixture. The cultivation which included barley, wheat and cotton was on an extensive scale; rice, dates, vegetables,

fruits, fish and fowl were included in the dietary and the animals were domesticated. There was no difference between the male and female dress. They wore a shawl like cloth over left shoulder and under the right arm and another resembling modern *dhoti* as a lower garment. Both males and females dressed the hair in various styles and decorated their bodies with ornaments of gold, silver, copper, faience and all kinds of semi-precious stones. They used household implements made of bronze or copper, pottery utensils and cots, stools, chair and other furniture for use and decoration. They used bullock carts as chief means of transport, used weapons of war of various designs such as axes, spears, daggers, bows and arrows and implements for cutting wood etc. and had elementary knowledge of medicine. They also knew decimal system as appears from the system of weights and measures The game of dice was also known to them.

Spinning of cotton and wool was common. Dyeing was practised, and the technique of manufacturing pottery of various shapes and designs was highly advanced. The beads and seal anklets were beautifully made and carved and formed the most successful artistic achievement of the people. A steatite statue which is a "creditable piece of sculpture"[2] and "objects of extraordinary fine womanship made in faience and vitreous paste have been unearthed in the Indus Valley."[3] Manufacture of agricultural implements and boat building were among the crafts of the people. The houses and buildings however lacked ornamentation, the constructions were plain and utilitarian and demonstrated the lack of æsthetic tastes.

Religion as reconstructed from seals, figurines, and stone images leads us to believe that the cult of the mother-goddess and the male god were widely followed by the backward classes of people. The mother-goddess whose image seems to have been kept in every house, is represented nude save for a girdle round the loins serving as a skirt and is adorned with jewellery and a curious fan-shaped head-dress The male god who also appears as a nude deity surrounded by animals with horns and three faces seated on a stool in a religious posture and wearing a large number of bangles and a fan-shaped head-dress, is identified by Sir John Marshall "as the Indian god Shiva in his

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aspect of Pasupati or lord of the beasts." Three such seals have been found, in two of which it wears a sprig of flowers. The various small cone like *lingas* and the large stone rings considered as *yonis* or female counterparts of the phallic emblem seem to have been associated with the male god and the mother-goddess. No public temples seem to have existed for installation of idols or worship of gods.

The presence of the great bath and smaller baths which appear to have been used for ablutions shows that purification by water must have been an essential requirement of their religious observance. That the Indus was venerated is further clear from the general opinion that the Indus Valley people cremated their dead and then threw the ashes into the river. The *gharial* which is frequently represented with a fish between its jaws and is associated with sacred animals might have been connected with the Indus. The skirl devices which are generally considered as solar symbols and are shown on two seal amulets in association with animal heads representing the other deities, leads to the belief that the Sun was considered as the greatest god of the religious pantheon of the Indus Valley people.

There is no adequate evidence to determine the customs and beliefs regarding the disposal of the dead. It however appears that three forms of burial—complete, fractional and post-cremation—were in practice.

The Indus script, of which some four hundred signs have been discovered, reveals an originally pictographic character, though the signs which remain yet undeciphered seem to have been standardised. In most of the cases, it runs from right to left and the large variety of signs renders its development as an alphabet impossible. Though it bears some resemblance to the scripts of the then contemporary civilizations of the west, and shows no signs of development during the long stay of this culture, it appears that it had developed in the Indus Valley.

The evidence of diverse racial elements in the population and of racial mixture, furnished by the skeletal material, suggests that various people had contributed to the development of the

Indus Valley Culture. The preponderance of the Mediterranean element in the composition of the population whose religious cults of the father-god and the mother-goddess were widely followed, corroborated by the evidence of an early Dravidian tract in the Brahui language of Baluchistan has attributed the authorship of this culture to the Dravidians who, it is suggested, assimilated the Austric elements and developed the city civilization of Mohenjo-daro, an assumption which best accords with the trends in the evolution of the Indus Valley culture. The evidence of the presence of the Alpinoid on the other hand and representation of the horse in the Indus Valley art, as also the discovery of saddles, have lent support to the view of those Indian writers who assign indigenous origin to the Aryan-speaking people.

But according to the widely accepted view which ascribes foreign origin to the Indo-Aryans, they most probably immigrated from their cradle land in South Russia by about the 15th century B.C. and spread to the Indus Valley. The Aryan tribes which occupied Sind and the Punjab were the Sivas, Parsus, Kekayas, Vrichivants, Yadus, Anus, Turvasas and Druhyus.[4] The Siva Aryans founded their capital at Sibistan or Seestan which is identified at present with Sehwan. The last four tribes and the Purus, the descendants of Yavati subsequently came to be known as Panchalas who later extended the limits of their country by conquests and occupation and became a united nation. Some other tribes designated as the Nichaya also occupied Sind and the Punjab. According to the historical tradition reconstructed on the basis of the Puranas and epic literature, Usinara, the lineal descendant of Yavati established a kingdom on the eastern border of the Punjab which was divided among his five sons. Of them Sibi, who succeeded to the throne at Multan, conquered almost the whole of Punjab and established four kingdoms through his sons, two of which were the Vrishadarbhas, also known as Sibis, in the home territories of Multan and the Sauviras in Sind. Bhrigus, who were great navigators and captured the sea trade of the western world, are subsequently known to have occupied the coast lands of the Arabian Sea. During the rise of the Solar dynasty, Rama's younger brother Bharata was enthroned on the kingdom of upper Sind, but again before the Dwapara

age closed, we hear that Sind was governed by Jayadrath of Sindhu-Sauvira who was brother-in-law of the Kauravas whom he had sided in the great war. The war which extinguished the Kuru dynasty and marked the beginning of a new era known as Kali-age, had almost disorganised the country and nothing is heard about it in the Puranas thereafter.

Patriarchal family was the foundation of the Aryan social life in which the father or head of the family wielded absolute control over its members. In this patriarchal organisation, several branches of one family, *kula*, constituted a *gram* which was the basic unit of administration. The head of the village wielded all powers, civil and military, and was responsible to the tribal organisation headed by the ruler of the state. Monarchy was the system of government in which the ruler was aided by the Sabha and the Samiti, the latter being a more representative assembly. The priest who accompanied the king to battle exercised restrictive powers over him. The monarchy was normally hereditary but when they were elected, the choice was usualy made in favour of the royal members.

With expansion and increase in the size of states, the tribal princes were reduced to the rank of nobility. Constant wars and revolts by the indigenous tribes needed the formation of a standing army for which recruitment was made from the ranks of the nobility. A warrior class thus arose and the people who had taken to peaceful and settled career, ceased to take interest in the military affairs. As the size of states expanded and the technique of ritual developed, the need for an organised priestly order also became necessary. A distinct community of priests was thus formed for the exact performance and preservation of the sacred formulas and hymns. The dark-skinned conquered aborigines who lived side by side or acknowledged the Aryan lordship were absorbed in the royal household as *Dasas*. The institution of hypergamy placed the Vaisya nearest to the *Sudra* who gradually increased the family by receiving girls from the conquered aboriginals.[2] Gradually caste was established without reference to colour and sub-castes and caste-divisions developed and the trade groups crystallised into castes. The different groups with different duties and functions, privileges and status gradually

became rigid and hereditary. The castes were hardened by the time the Aryans occupied the middle land and distinguished themselves from their brethren in Sind and the Punjab who were despised by them for not observing the rules of caste. The position of the Brahmin became stronger and the status of Vaisya diminished and the Sudra was placed in a degraded position by the wide gulf created by the distinctions in duties and privileges, spiritual and secular.

The women enjoyed good social position. The girls were married after they attained puberty and they enjoyed the freedom in the matter of selection of partners. Polygamy was permitted, but was confined probably to the ruling class. Polyandry was unknown and the females were always kept in male guardianship during their entire life. Gradually the marriage came to be banned within a circle of cognates and agnates; widow marriage and marriage by purchase were known but were not looked with favour. The assimilation of aborigine females brought down cultural level, rituals were developed, and the custom of polygamy became prevalent.

Their food consisted of barley, rice, milk and butter preparations. Meat was also used on occasions and Soma juice, the sacrificial drink, was highly relished. Hospitality was an important virtue and subsequently it became a religious duty. Their dress consisted of lower and upper garments and in the later ages, undergarment was also used. An embroidered garment was used by female dancers. Females wore ornaments of various kinds including rings, armlets and anklets and the males used ornaments of the ear. The hair were combed and oiled. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was known and the maidens knew dancing. Chariot and horse racing were favourite entertainments and gambling was also known. They had elementary knowledge of medicine, and spell formed part of their treatment. They knew surgery. Education was imparted by oral instruction and *Vedic* literature formed the subject of study.

The Aryans were primarily pastoral people and valued cows and bulls, the former being considered as sacred animals. They knew ploughing and cultivation of food crops. Both inland and

maritime trade was carried by them and barter was the existing system of trade, though the gold nishka subsequently developed as a unit for exchange. Boat building and chariot manufacture were among their crafts, the trade was carried by the Vanias, and city life was not much known.

The Aryan gods were evolved by the personification of natural phenomena. They were classified as Celestial, Atmospheric and Terrestrial. Usha (dawn), Surya (Sun), Agni (fire), Prithvi (earth) were some of their important gods. But Indra the mighty warrior, and Varuna the All Encompasser, stood out pre-eminent above all other gods. Indra was the national god of war and destroyer of demons. Varuna was universal monarch who supported heaven and earth, moved the sun and other heavenly bodies, caused rain and regulated the seasons. He caused and regulated the flow of rivers and lived by his occult powers. The deification was extended to mountains and rivers, implements of war and other objects. Their powers and functions were not exclusive and therefore they were not graded and placed in the pantheon. They were immortal though they were born, travelled in cars drawn by steeds or other animals, accepted offerings, soma being their favourite juice, regulated order of nature, rewarded the righteous and punished the evildoer. They were pleased by sacrifices, prayers and oblations, but no idols were installed and worshipped. Water was considered as the primordial matter and the departed spirits lived in the land of *Yama*, enjoyed pleasures and lived in a shining form. The heaven could be reached through sacrifices and worship of the gods. The guilty were punished in hell which was low and dark.

With expansion and assimilation of the non-Aryans, more popular religion was developed by introduction of magical rites and formulas to appease the demons for obtaining their blessings on themselves or curses on enemies. A sacrificial cult was evolved during the periods of the Samaveda and the Yajurveda. The rites and sacrifices were systematised and developed into a science which touched every aspect of human life. Man was considered to be born with debts which he could discharge by worship of the gods, studies of the Vedas, performance of the funeral ceremonies and oblations to the evil spirits. As magic

dominated the entire sacrificial system, efficacy depended upon the correct performance of rites and ceremonies which required technical knowledge on the part of the priests. The priests grew in power as they could now control the nature; and as the old gods could not fit in with this new system, new gods, Siva and Vishnu, were created; Gandharvas, Nagas and others were raised to the status of semi-gods, snake worship made its appearance and monotheism was preached. This, however, created reaction as the elaborate performance of rites and ceremonies was not possible for all people and at all times and places. Meditation was advocated and simple ceremonial was substituted. The religion assumed speculative character till the metaphysical truths regarding the universe, soul and Brahma were searched and the process of realisation was determined in the Upanishads.

When the Aryans carried on extensive conquests for further migration to the east, they became by gradual assimilation of the non-Aryan elements, socially distinct from the people of the Indus Valley. By the time they had reached the middle country, the caste-system had hardened into all its rigidity. The entire life of the people was surrounded by an elaborately organised system of rituals and sacrifices, and an hierarchy of priestly order was evolved for proper performance of the rites and ceremonies as they alone knew the developed technique of religious observances. The conquering Aryans of the middle land, therefore, evolved a social pattern, which was quite distinct from the people of Sind whom they despised for their non-Brahmanical character. Sind by its isolation and limited scope for expansion and settlement had excluded the possibility of acquiring the rigidity in their social structure and preserved its flexible and liberal nature of the social and religious institutions which have characterised its culture during the entire course of its development. Yet, despite the secluded position in which it stood, it continued to maintain the social contacts with the rest of India. The city of Multan which by its geographical position commanded the Indus Valley, assumed an important position as capital of Sind throughout the ancient history and served as a centre of contact with the rest of India and of diffusion of culture in the Indus Valley. While the north was busy with ceaseless strife, Sind was comparatively free from the problems

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of conquest of the aborigines and could maintain a comparatively free and independent position. The city of Multan has served as a connecting link with the Punjab and Kashmir with which Sind has age long affinities—cultural, racial and linguistic. It is no wonder then that the Sindhis have been called Multanis in Bombay till the present times.

With the opening of the *Kali* era, Sind receded into the background. The Aryan penetration and settlements had gone far beyond, their pattern of culture had materially changed, and the countries to the West and North-West had ceased to have any influence over or interest in the politics of India. For next four centuries, nothing is heard of Sind in the Puranic and Epic literature and with the commencement of the historic period, we get a few glimpses from foreign accounts. Sind was parcelled out into petty states and the whole of North-West India and Sind were, wave after wave, invaded by the foreign armies. It was a period during which Sind came into contact with western cultures.

During the Persian invasions, Darius (522-486 B.C.) extended his dominion and advanced as far as the Indus and Sind was a province of his empire. "The conquered provinces of Punjab and Sind were considered to be the richest and most populous satrapy of the empire, to the revenues of which they were required to pay the enormous tribute of fully a million sterling."[5] The hold of the Achaemenians on the province had become feeble and a number of small kingdoms had grown up at the time of Greek invasions. One of the Greek tribes called Ossadioi was associated with the Sibis and Sindhu-Sauviras.[6] Other tribes, the Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Massanoi, occupied Northern Sind, the former being Sudras constantly associated with the Abhiras who were settled near the Sarswati. The Kingdom of Mousikanos included a large part of modern Sind and had its capital at Alor.[7] The characteristics of the inhabitants were noticed by Strabo and are described [illegible] " The following are their peculiarities: to have a [illegible] daem[illegible] [illegible] non meal, where they eat in public [illegible] taken in the chase. They mak[illegible]

they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotae, and the Lacedaemonians the Helots. They *study no science with attention but that of medicine*; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's power to escape either one or the other; but as contacts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of Justice."[8] The Brahmins exercised considerable influence in the country and were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader (325 B.C.) The Brahmins took the lead and created the spirit of resistance but they were killed by the Macedonian emperor. There were the principalities of Oxykanos which according to Cunningham, lay to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkana and of Sambos adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos with whom he was at feud. His capital called Sindimana has been identified with Sehwan. Then there was the maritime city of Patala, the capital of Patalane which had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan, for in this community the command was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority.[9] They however divided Sind into four satrapies with boundary modifications which lasted far down into the Indian history as the four traditional divisions of Sind.[10] The Greeks established some settlements, one of the most important being Alexandria in Sind in the vicinity of the countries of Sogdoi and Massanoi who occupied the banks of the Indus. The people of a Greek polis, namely Demetrias have been traced to a date which cannot be much later than 50 B.C.[11] They opened up trade with the west and the route calling at Demetrias Patala was first of the four stages in the commercial voyage.[12] They, however, left no permanent mark on life or literature of the people.

The Greeks were followed by the Parthians who got possession of Patalane in the Indus delta and extended the Parthian power in the Lower Sindhu during the reign of Mithradates I

above the middle of second century B.C. Then came the Scythian hordes who swept off the native inhabitants for a while but were soon checked by the desert barriers to the east. They proved more dangerous than the previous invaders as they came not to conquer but to stay. So great was the influence of the Scythians that Sind came to be known as Indo-Scythia. The Scythians who formed a good portion of the Sind population were ultimately absorbed and soon came under the sphere of Kanishka's influence during the period of Kushans.

The Persians, Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Kushans who invaded the country had nothing to offer. They brought no superior culture, no nobler religion, no higher ideas and no better language. They adapted to the environment, adopted Hindu names and religion and were soon lost in the population amidst which they lived. They were adjusted in the social system and their cultures were assimilated. A large population of Sind at the lower strata is Scythian and not Aryan.

Budhism must have been well established for some centuries as the remains of early stupas which form a string up the Indus Valley clearly indicate. Both Budhism and Jainism had flourished in Sind and had revolted against the superiority of Brahmins. They ignored God and denied the Vedas. Buddhism directed its energies towards the establishment of a universal religion of Love and Peace, of Truth and Righteousness. It rose above all earthly ambitions of wars and foreign conquests and preached Ahimsa and Universal Brotherhood. But the teachings of non-violence with nirvana as the only object of human attainment made the people self-centred, militarily weak and unorganised. Torn by internal rivalries and harassed by foreign invasions the country was exposed to any strong power. This led the people to divert their attention again to the old Vedic religion and out of chaos and re-arrangement of the society arose a warrior class of the Rajputs whose dignity and status in the new society was ensured by the Brahmins. The origin of the Rajputs who claim to be the lineal descendants of the Kshatriyas of the Vedic times, is assigned by Todd to the Scythians who invaded the country and their affinities are established on the similarities of horse worship, religious beliefs, omens and auguries, initia-

tion to arms and the like. According to some other writers, this class of warriors arose as a result of re-arrangement of the society which had absorbed the foreign elements and had been so shaken to its very foundations that it necessitated readjustment. And when these claimants to princely honours accepted the Hindu faith and adjusted themselves to the new Brahmanised social system, they were affiliated to the Vedic Kshatriyas whose exploits and heroism were recorded in the epics. But the Indian writer Pandit Ojha, after discussing the question in detail in his *History of Rajputana*, has upheld the claim of the Rajputs that they descended from the ancient Kshatriyas of the Vedic age.

Whatever be their origin, the Rajputs were surely a brave and war-like class whose "courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them." Supported by the Rajputs, the Brahmins re-asserted themselves with vigour and intensity and reconstructed the society as necessitated by the assimilation of foreign elements and demands of the time. By the time the Arabs invaded the country, the Brahmin revival had already set in and the cities and ports which adorned the Indus banks were the hot bed of Hinduism with Multan as its strong hold. The cult of the Trinity, Siva, the mother goddess and Ganapati was followed; Brahma was worshipped and the Sun-god was a principal god of the Hindus. During the excavations of the ruined city of Brahmanabad, a great many fragments of Hindu stone images were found, one of which was the frame with Surya having lotus in either hand and wearing long boots. On the right of Surya is Brahma, showing three of his faces, upon his left is Siva with trident and snake, above him is a little goddess while Ganapati figures frequently. "Hiuen Tsiang tells us that there were, in his time, at Multan, eight temples of the Brahmanical gods, and the temple of the Sun-god, Aditya, was very magnificent. Kathiawad, on the other side of Sind, was full of Surya worship about this time."[13] A metal statue of Brahma was discovered in a field near Mirpurkhas which appeared to belong to some temple of architectural importance at a period anterior to the Arab conquest.[14] This image of Brahma which stands three feet two inches high, and two arms, the left appearing to have held a rosary "the fore-finger and thumb being in the position of count-

the sword and the terms Love and Peace had no meaning to them. They carried fire and sword wherever they went and obliterated all that came in their way. Muhammad triumphantly marched into the country, conquering Debal, Sehwan, Nerun, Brahmanabad, Alor and Multan one after the other in quick succession, and in less than a year and half, the far-flung Hindu kingdom was crushed, the great civilization fell back and Sind entered the darkest period of its history.

As a matter of necessity the Arabs left the administration to the natives and "the Arab soldiers settled in the country, married Indian women and thus slowly a number of small military colonies came into existence," the most important being Mansura, Kuzdar, Kandabel, Baiza, Mahfuza, and Multan. These colonies flourished as great centres of trade and learning. A busy trade grew up and the merchants of different nationalities carried Indian goods through Sind to Turkistan and Khorasan and imported horses into Sind. "There was a fearful out-break of religious bigotry in several places and temples were wantonly desecrated. At Debal, Nairun and Aror temples were demolished and converted into mosques In some places those who had offered resistance were put to death and women and children were made captives The temple of the Sun at Multan was ravaged and its treasures were rifled by Muhammad bin Qasim." The Jaziya was exacted with special care. The Hindu population was required to feed Muslim travellers for three days and nights, and the Kazis who decided the cases were only means of extortion and forcible conversion. The effect of the Arab conquest on Muslim culture was also far-reaching. The Arab scholars learnt from the Hindus the sciences of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, medicine and chemistry, secularised their learning and presented it to the European mind in a new garb

The Arabs left no legacy behind except a few colonies and a few families as the memorial of their conquest. They had no constitutional doctrine, no higher culture and no superior art or language. The Sindhis, intensely pacifist and persevering, readjusted to the conditions without their course of life being affected by this 'barbarian inroad.' But the Arab invasion, though politically an insignificant event, a "triumph without result," brought

in wave after wave of foreign hordes. The Tartars, the Arghuns and the Tarkhanas, the Moguls, and the Baluch as if the whole world, fell upon the country from the west or through the Punjab. And the subsequent history of the Sind Hindus is therefore nothing but a tale of woe of their degradation, conversion and surveillance.

After being expelled from the principal cities by their conquerors, the Hindus either embraced the new "true faith" or largely sought shelter in the adjoining Hindu states. The Aroras, after the fall of Arore, escaped the persecution of their conquerors by flying to the Punjab, while the Rajput families took refuge to the east in the Rajasthan states. And those who continued to stay as "Unbelievers" were to pay highly unjust taxes and live at the mercy of their conquerors, gradually losing all distinct marks of their ancient faith. More than once indeed the Rajputs conquered the territories, but ultimately accepted the religion of their conquerors. Jaisiya, the son of Dehar who seized Brahmanabad in an attempt to regain the lost kingdom of his father, soon converted himself to the Muslim religion, but he fell foul of the Arab governor and was killed. The Samma and Sumra Rajputs who became the lords of the province for two centuries, professed themselves Musalmans though they entertained a blend of both the religions and were still Rajputs at heart. In fact, religion in South Sind was very mixed, as it had been comparatively free from Muslim domination, for at Umarkot and other minor places Hindu rulers had held more or less independent power. This partly accounts for the comparatively late conversion of the bulk of the population to Islam in Sind, though the principal reason lay in the geographical position of the province which made it less answerable to the throne at Delhi where the emperors, confused by distractions of wars could pay little attention to this isolated province or spare time for its administration. Indeed, many of those who had fled away from Sind during the period of oppression, returned with many others to be absorbed by the Lohanas, either famine-stricken from the east or seeking relief from disturbances of wars between the Sikhs and the Muslims in the Punjab. But when the Kalhora rulers occupied Sind, the conversions proceeded more

systematically and continued most violently during the regime of fierce Baluch tribes.

"No Hindoo ventured to pronounce the name of the village Allahyara jo Tando, because of the holy dissyllable that commences it; he could not touch a paper written in the Arabic language, because that character was the character of the Koran; nor dared he to open a Moslem book in his mother tongue, the Scindee, for fear of being seen to peruse the inceptive formula, 'In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful.' It was always in the power of two Moslems to effect the conversion of a Pagan by swearing that they saw him at a cockfight on Friday, that he pronounced, in their presence, the word Mohammed, or even that he had used some such ambiguous phrase as 'I will go with thee'".[19]

It is no wonder then that a large number of Hindus either forsook the country or borne down by oppression were lost among the Muslim population of Sind. The Sammas and the Sumras, the descendants of the Yadav and the Pramara Rajput tribes, who form a good portion of the Sindhi agricultural population, notwithstanding their attempts to carry on the Hindu traditions for long, were ultimately absorbed in the body of the "true believers." So were the other agricultural tribes, namely the Dahars, the Indhar, the Chachars, the Lakhan, the Dhareja and many of the Rathor tribes, of Rajput or Scythic origin, were converted to Mohammedanism. The Jats who were pastorals or cattle breeders as also the Rajput artisan castes, namely the Dakhan (carpenter), Kumbhar (potter), Langha (drummer) and washermen and dyers, mainly from among the Sumra branch, forsook their ancient faith. The fishermen and the boatmen and the Muhana with all its tribal sub-divisions of probably Scythic extraction, sought shelter in the religion of the persecutors whose chief theocratic policy was conversion of the infidels. Thus all the occupational castes—agricultural, pastoral and fishing and the artisans—had left the Hindus to live alone as traders, the menials having sought shelter in the desert stretches or absorbed among the Muslims who went on increasing with the influx of foreign elements, the Afghan and the Mogul, the Makrani and the Baluch during the course of history. The Meman and the Khoja

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Muslims are converts from among the Lohana traders, but a great body of the Lohanas and Bhatias who escaped the conversions were dispersed throughout Sind. Even as late as 1699, when Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Thatta, he found the Hindus ten times more numerous than the Muslims. A few priestly castes and the artisans, namely the Sonara and the Walan, whose presence in the country was essential for the social requirements of the trading castes, were also similarly dispersed throughout the province along with them.

The social life was adjusted to ensure safety from the Muslim ravages. The position of women declined, purdah was rigorously enforced, infant marriage became a common custom and the movements of women were increasingly restricted. The Hindus had concentrated in urban areas and Hindu villages; mode of life was altered to ensure privacy and simplicity and community life was strengthened.

Religion also underwent great transformation during this period. Both Buddhism and Jainism had become extinct. The converts to Islam, who had adopted the practice of burying their dead, had not yet forsaken their gods. They continued to venerate the Hindu temples and holy places and took the first opportunity to bury some distinguished dead within the premises of Hindu shrines. The resting places of these worthy saints were altered as 'dargahs' or 'Pirs' after the name of the holy dead where fairs and pilgrimages continued to be attended by both the rival sects. Every celebrated spot thus acquired double character; Raja Bhartari came to be known as Lal Shahbaz, Pir Patto as Pil Sultan, Jenda Pir as Khwaja Khizir, Lalu Jasraj as Pir Mangho and Uderolal as Sheikh Tahir. The old superstitions surrounded the grave and the tomb-worship developed with increase in the number of graves in the family courtyards or in sacred places till the cities of the dead outnumbered those of the living. Everywhere the tomb temples showed their appearance and as the dead worthies did not die but continued to listen to the prayers of their votaries, they multiplied till in each part of the country over one hundred thousand Pirs surrounded the life of the people, enforcing strict observance of the rites and ceremonies from birth to death, curing diseases, attending to all

difficulties of their votaries, Hindus and Muslims alike, for a simple remuneration of oblations and animal sacrifices. Thus arose a huge army of Pirs, Pirs of Rags, Pirs of earthenware pots and of cradles, and every stone and tree within the graveyard became a living saint. The Ramzan and Safar months acquired importance in Hindu rural life and grain oblations were offered by them to the Moharum Tabuts.

Yet the principal religion of the Hindus was the Indus cult. The Indus which created and sustained the valley, had by its periodic inundations assured the people of a regular food supply. The corn festivals (Ekhana) which date back to the origin of barley cultivation were celebrated to revive the barley crop from the sacred body of the river god, twice a year, one with retreat of the floods and the other with rising of the Indus waters at the opening of the local year. The coming of the floods, the period of inundations at their height and their retreat were celebrated throughout Sind on Indus Banks with processions and huge fairs and observation of fasts for forty days (Chaliho) and corn festivals. With the invention of cultivation, the household articles which were necessary for storage and preparations of corn namely, the granary (gundro), the winnowing fan, the pestle and the cleaning pot (ukhri), the sieve and the grinding mill were raised to the status of household gods and worshipped along with the River god as principal god during the performance of birth, marriage and funeral rites The river god from its abode in the deep waters created the Universe and transmitted life into it through the lotus plant arising from its navel and finally destroyed it by its vast inundations which frequently swept away the settlements of the Indus Valley people. The Sun, as it would appear from the various Sun-Pools, had its abode in the Indus from where it emerged every morning and to which it disappeared in the evening and completed its annual circle at the close of the flood year and re-appeared from the Indus on New Year's day or day of the Indus flood The Moon goddess likewise gradually disappeared during her waning phase in the furthest distance which the ancients could locate in the unknown region where the Indus itself disappeared to the South. This furthest distance or the sphere in which the Moon completely waned beyond the Indus came to be considered as land of the

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dead (Pitrilok); and the Amavasya day on which the Moon completely disappeared from human gaze came to be associated with the dead ancestors. That the land of the dead lay to the South where the Moon and the Indus disappeared is still more clear from the position in which the dead are cremated.

The only proper vehicle to transport the dead safely beyond the Indus was the mother goddess cow which must be offered in charity to a Brahmin before death. The dead however visit their households annually on boats floated for them by their descendants after the waters have retreated and it has become safer for them to return to their old households. They arrive on the full moon day, which is associated with the world of the living and partake in the Shradh festivities and return on the Amavasya day or day associated with the world of the dead.

The Indus was always worshipped in the form of water and light. The earliest representation of the Indus god was made in the form of a human deity sitting over the fish floating on a water-lily. He was subsequently represented as a river king or warrior emerging from the Indus with a regiment at his back and a sword and the Hindu flag in his hands. He was ultimately identified by the Muslims with Khawaja Khijir and his important temples at Uderolal and Sukkur were usurped by them. Huge fairs on Indus banks were held every year on the New Year's day or day of the Indus flood. The day was celebrated with processions and Chhej (inundation) dance with light installed in a river temple (Bahrana).

The origin of the cultivation of barley, the household gods, the nature spirits and the river god, the origin of creation, life and prosperity, the conception of life beyond death, the formation of calendar, the religious cult, the songs, the dance, etc., which contributed to the formation of Indus Valley civilization were all thus based on the phenomenon of inundations. With a complete ritualistic system elaborately organised with various temples throughout Sind, with priestly caste to perform the various rites and celebrate the sacred days with huge fairs on Indus banks, the river cult assumed complete hold upon the Indus Valley people. It was the principal religion of the Lohanas

who claimed their origin through the blessings of river-god;[20] and at the dawn of history, the Darya itself was also called Lohana Darya as frequently mentioned by Capt. Mc. Murdo.[21]

The civilization which flourished in the Indus Valley extended beyond the limits of present day Sind as would be apparent from the fact that the same form of river-cult is found all through the Punjab and Northern India, but has its sacred place at Udero Lal in Sind.[22] In Gujerat every Lohana village has a place built in honour of this Pir (Darya Pir) where a lamp fed by clarified butter is kept burning day and night, and where in the month of Chaitra, a festival is celebrated.[23] River worship is common in the South-West Punjab and the priests of this cult are known as Thakkars.[24] They believe in Darya Sahib and pray to him for all they want. The only object of reverence, which can be said to rival Krishna and his apostles (in South-West Punjab), is the River, and the people have gone so far as to confuse the two, at times it is the Indus, at times Lalji of Sewhan, the founder of Krishna temple, who is addressed and worshipped as Amarlal, the Immortal one.[25] The corresponding cult in the Eastern Punjab is that of Khwaja Khizir who is worshipped equally by Hindus and Mohammedans as the water spirit[26] while others hold that Zinda Pir was a personification of the river-god, Darya-Sahib.[27] The cult also spread to the Marwar but the largest number of worshippers was found in Multan.[28]

With growth of Sikhism in the Punjab, the people who migrated to Sind oppressed by wars, introduced Sikhism which like any other religion was received, in a form modified to a great degree as part of the religion, by the Lohanas It became a blended faith, known as Nanak Panth, and the people in general continued to venerate the Hindu gods, performed Hindu rites and ceremonies and called Brahmins to officiate at their birth, marriage and funeral rites.

But the highly blended faith which Sind produced and which was followed by the Hindus and the Muslims alike, was Sufism. "The Sindhi is by nature an easy-going being, not given to religious subtlety. This tolerant trait in Sindhi character has produced a rare phenomenon."[29] The Muslims who followed the

Hindu beliefs and superstitions had, with the practice of burying their dead, developed a tomb cult. It was believed that the saint, on emancipation from the bondage of matter, acquired supernatural powers and could therefore work miracles of every kind. This immortality of the soul based on the Hindu religious doctrines led to the belief that the Spirit was a particle of the Divine with whom union could be achieved through love and adoration of its beauty. Sufism is therefore a religion of beauty and love, its priests are poets, its ceremonial consists of music, dancing and intoxication, its path for reaching the divine lies through trance and ecstasy, its temples are in the meadows and gardens full with the charms of roses and nightingales, and the followers extend to all classes of people, irrespective of caste or religion. A number of Saint-poets, Hindus and Muslims, were born among whom Shah Abdul Latif stands as the prince poet. Large gatherings of Sindhis were held at their tombs to do honour to their memory. Sufi religious orders were evolved and the holy disciples were initiated in the new faith by taking to ascetic garbs and begging bowl which however increased a large number of lower pretenders to this faith. The divine poetry of such saint-poets almost bound with spell the Hindu and Muslim population of Sind.

The Muslim governments never proved conducive to improvement of the economic or social conditions of the masses, but surrounded by a host of Sayads pursued the policy of conversions. The important cities declined, the thousands of looms which had produced the shawls and silken stuffs celebrated throughout Central Asia had ceased to exist, art and industry had perished, and both the princes and Pirs were surrounded by *natch* girls, and hunting and shooting engaged their valuable attention. The princes who were addicted to pleasures of every kind could not manage their territory and when the British seized the country, it was a land of dust and sepulchres, of Pirs and beggars, an " uncivilized, unimproved place, difficult to get at and difficult to get away from."

The Hindus seized this position of advantages with perseverance and skill. The rulers and the people had become indebted to the Hindus from whose accumulating interest they never hoped

to be relieved. Their ornaments and landed properties were mortgaged, officials were corrupt and Hindus and Muslims came to be divided in two classes as creditors and debtors. Out of the inability and ignorance of the rulers to collect taxes and maintain accounts, there arose from among the Lohanas, a class of Amils or government servants who by their helping hands to their families and cousins formed an hierarchy in the administration and soon surrounded the rulers of Sind with "a host of officers, revenue collectors, secretaries, and scribes, all of the same persuasion, all playing into one another's hands and all equally determined to aggrandise themselves, their family, and their race, no matter by what means. The result of this almost unopposed combination was that the princes, notwithstanding their powers of life and death, the "she-cat" and circumcision, were never safe from frauds so barefaced that it moves our wonder to hear them told."[30]

No sooner the Amils established themselves, they improved their political standing in the country and elevated their social position among the Hindus. The middle ranks became dependent on them, and the common Muslims whose debts had enslaved them to the Hindus, had fallen from their position of power and the Hindus could manage to subsist through the darkest times. When the British occupied the country, the Muslims ignored with contempt the learning of the English, but the Hindus seized the opportunity and with better intellect and organization, they filled the government jobs and administered the country. With service and trade in their hands, they rose in power and were soon awakened by the Arya Samajist movement of reformation which created Hindu consciousness among them. They advanced rapidly and shook off many of their cherished beliefs and superstitions which they had developed during the spread of the tomb-cult.

During this course of five thousand years, the pattern of the Indus Valley culture, notwithstanding many invasions and clashes from outside, was gradually evolved as moulded by Sindhi character, through adjustments and assimilation. Based for its structure on the Aryan institutions of caste, patriarchal family and the community life, it has assimilated the local elements in its religion

in the forms of worship, in the performance of rites and ceremonies and in the myths and legends. The manner of dressing is evidently pre-Aryan, many of the customs relating to marriage are non-Aryan and the language has assimilated many foreign elements. The assimilation of pre-Aryans and of the Scythians and others who invaded the country from time to time resulted in racial mixture. But the pattern of culture thus evolved, though it has much in common with the Hindu culture of India, is distinguished to a great degree by its Sindhi character of development. The Aryan culture had assumed the present rigidity when Aryans had reached the Madhya Desh and assimilated the local elements to a large extent. Influenced by constant strife and requirements of the time, they had revolutionised their society by the fully developed caste-system and highly developed technique of rituals, had diluted the language with foreign elements and had evolved the practices of pollution, taboos and magic. The society of Sindhis remained comparatively free from all these rigidities and is more Aryan and undiluted than the Hindu society in the rest of India.

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Caste system is almost absent in Sind. The Lohanas who form mass of the population constitute an all absorbing caste which has given shelter to various elements of population from the adjoining provinces from time to time. The Brahmin and the other priestly castes freely exchange food, pollution is unknown, and untouchability has no place among the Sindhi Hindus. The religion is principally Brahmanic, but is free from the burden of rituals. The ceremonial is very simple and the various faiths which are followed by the people are liberal and are blends of each other. The customs relating to marriage and the institutions of exogamy and endogamy are not very rigid and the social relations are marked by a degree of freedom.

Lacking in active courage, the Sindhis possess all the main attributes of a passive character. Their attitude towards religion is not philosophic or speculative, but one of submissiveness, faith and devotion. They believe in hero-worship and the supernatural and miraculous power of saints. Besides a larger number of shrines of holy saints whose reverence transcends all limits, the living saints of Hindu faiths and sufi poets attract large gatherings. Like the tomb-cult, a good number of ash burials or samadhis of holy saints who adorned the Hindu religion have grown into shrines where fairs are held and anniversaries are celebrated. Likewise, the Sufism of mystic saints is not philosophical but only love and religious mysticism. If poetry which forms the principal literature of Sind can express the thoughts of the people, the greatest of all the poets of Sind, Shah Abdul Latif's lyrical poems still bind the Sindhi-speaking people of Sind, "with a powerful spell of love and admiration" faithfully reflecting the Sindhi character. A large bulk of his poetry comprises the Sindhi love stories "deeply penetrated by the affectionate sentiment of the common folk,"[32] and the remaining poems are of mystic and divine love, and some of them represent the features of Sind rural life. "The prevailing tenor

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of the poetry is thus that of a religious mysticism. It is not a pure love mysticism, nor a nature mysticism, nor an intellectual mysticism. The characteristic imagery is that employed to describe the separation and the reunion of lovers and the language used is usually that of human love longings."[33] The imaginative and emotional character of the Sindhis which preserved them through all vicissitudes of life may partly be ascribed to their fondness for intoxication and love for music. The Sindhis "make spirit both from jagri (molasses) and from dates which they perfume with spices and consume a great deal—the Hindus particularly. The Scindians are excessively fond of singing and have good performers vocal and instrumental. The Ain-i-Akberi also mentions the fondness of the Sindhis for singing and music and the prevalence of amatory songs."[34]

'Braver than any woman' in endurance and suffering, the Sindhis are of a very determined character for preserving or regaining their lost prestige, economic or social. They were dispersed in the wild Baluchi mountains, in the desert stretches, "in Afghanistan, the eastern parts of Central Asia, and the Arabian Coast amongst the barbarous and hostile people" and almost throughout the globe, "enduring all kinds of hardship and braving no little danger in pursuit of wealth." By patience, perseverance and skill they have survived through their darkest period of history and have by quick selective adaptation or imitation strived for rapid social progress without much destroying their cultural purity and status. Among Sind Hindus, begging was unknown, prostitutes were almost absent and prisoners were rare. Their religious attitude of charity and generosity fostered by economic prosperity of the people is fully expressed in their social institutions. One of the most important activities of the Panchayats which often formed the largest head of their expenditure was the institution of 'Sadavrit' or alms to religious people. Though begging amongst themselves was much despised, they supported a large number of religious mendicants from the adjoining provinces.

All these passive attitudes and their attitudes of religious faith, charity and a bit of epicureanism integrated in an emotional system make up their personality which finding expression in

their cultural life and religion may offer a solution for rebuilding their structure which crumbled and their character which was threatened with disintegration on the eve of Indian Independence in 1947 which brought about a vast revolution in their affairs.

1 ... the Indus Civilization in
2
3 Ibid., p. 110.
4 R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The History and Culture of the* ...
5
6
7 Ibid., p. 159.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
10 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 358.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 356.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 368.
13 Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, *Archæological Survey of India*, pp. 55-6.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
16 *Ibid*, p. 14; E. H. Aitken, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 36.
17 Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
19 ...
20 ... 361.
21
22
23
24
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26-28
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32 H. T. Sorley, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 227.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR OCCUPATION

The memorable event of Indian Independence in 1947 brought with itself the untold miseries of widespread disturbances, killings, looting and arson in the Punjab; and while the Punjabis were being driven out from the land of their forefathers, the Hindus of Sind were wondering whether migration in Sind on such a mass scale would eventually become necessary. The authorities at Karachi had assured them that whatever might have happened in the Punjab, they would not allow the position of Sind Hindus to become insecure. But hardly had the migration across the new Punjab border come to an end when the Hindus of Sind had started crossing out of Pakistan as the influx of Muslim evacuees from India and consequent incidents of violence against them had justified their fears; and even as early as the beginning of November 1947 some 2,46,000 persons had already crossed the border by sea as well as by rail. A number of ships were chartered by the Government of India but clearance from Karachi was restricted to only 2000 per day as the Port authorities had pleaded inability to handle more. One Refugees Special Train per day in addition to the Bombay Mail was run to provide greater facilities for evacuation and by 22nd December, 1947, some 1,40,000 more refugees were carried to India by Refugee Trains. The scheduled air services between Delhi and Karachi were intensified and in addition to the regular Persian Gulf Line Steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company nine steamers were chartered by the Government of India. By middle of December some 1,33,000 refugees had been cleared from Sind by steamer and country craft, and were brought out to Bombay and Kathiawar ports. It was estimated that by 1st week of January, 1948, nearly 4,78,000 refugees had already

come over to India. The pace of evacuation was accelerated after the organised plunder of Hindus on mass scale by Muslim evacuees from India had begun in Karachi. Between 1st January and February 15th, nearly 1,80,000 persons were evacuated. The Directorate General proposed to evacuate about 15,000 by sea and 3,000 to 4,000 by rail every week, and the major part of evacuation therefore occurred in the first three months. But with the introduction of permit system by the Sind Government, the refugees "were now required to produce certificates from Income-Tax authorities, Tehsildars, Municipalities and other civil authorities that no debt either of a bank or private individual was outstanding and that no ornaments of Muslims were pawned with them." The Hindus who had lost all means of livelihood were further subjected to financial hardships. It was estimated that there were still 7 lacs of Hindus left in Sind including 10 to 12 thousand Sikhs who were stranded in the various pockets of the Province. Five ships per week, with a capacity of 11,000 passengers were put on Karachi-Bombay run and four ships per week with a capacity of 4,000 passengers were plying between Karachi and Kathiawar ports. Evacuation by sea, therefore, could handle about 60,000 to 70,000 persons per month. The running of special trains from Hyderabad or Mirpurkhas to Marwar Junction and Pali where transit camps had been set up for reception, had been arranged but only 50,000 to 60,000 refugees per month were available for evacuation by this route. On an average, only 3,000 Hindus were evacuated everyday on account of the difficulties created by the introduction of permit system and from February 1 to March 18, about 90,000 refugees were evacuated by sea and 4,000 by rail. The rate of evacuation, during the period following, registered a sharp decline and in the month of March the total evacuation came down from 3,000 a day to 1,365 in the month of April. Only 41,000 Hindus reached India in April while the total number of refugees brought over in March was over 1,00,000. The stopping of running special trains by the Sind Government for carrying the refugees from the interior of the province effected further decline in the number of evacuees, which from the beginning of May was reduced to a trickle. A little over 10,000 entered India in the first three weeks of May and from May 10th to 17th the number of refugees evacuated by sea was, 1,500 and about 1,970 refugees were brought by

rail from Hyderabad from May 12th to 16th. Members of the Scheduled Castes who were agriculturists and were not allowed to bring cattle with them presented a problem as they demanded the allotment of land in India in advance. By middle of June, 1948, about 20,000 Hindus had been evacuated to India, leaving approximately 4,00,000 behind. The evacuation proceeded continuously though slowly till July, 1949. The evacuation by sea had greatly dwindled and the Pakistan Government had dropped the idea of re-starting the railway link with Jodhpur consequent to which it was not possible to effect evacuation of the remaining Hindus from Sind by rail. Due to fresh troubles in Shikarpur and Sukkur in August, 1949, there was again a sudden rise in the number of evacuees during the months of September, October and November, 1949. A thin stream of evacuees for whom a transit camp in Karachi was maintained by the Government, continued for long time, the number of evacuees falling from 27,297 in 1949 to 9,099 in 1950 and to 644 only in 1951. It has been estimated that out of 14,00,000 Hindus who lived in Sind in 1947, about a million and a quarter had come over to India leaving behind the remaining in various parts of the province, specially in Tharparkar district and other urban areas of Sind.

Tired and deprived of their properties, the refugees on reaching the Indian soil were received, dispersed or accommodated in the relief camps set up by the Directorate General of Evacuation of the Government of India at various receiving centres in Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, Kathiawar and Rajasthan. They had no portion of the territory in India like the Punjabis nor any compact block of evacuee properties to go to. Refugees arriving by rail at Marwar and Pali were sent to various relief camps in Rajasthan or to transit camps at Ahmedabad, Ratlam and Khandwa, from where they were again sent to various camps in Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces and C.I. States. By middle of March 1948, 12 camps had been opened in Kathiawar to accommodate about 32,000 Sindhi refugees arriving by steamer or country craft on Kathiawar ports. Similar camps with varying capacities were opened at Bikaner, Kotah, Udaipur, Jodhpur and other towns of Rajasthan. In Bombay Presidency there were about 1,29,000 refugees by this

period in the various camps, which were taken over by the Central Government. Five military camps at Kalyan were made available to them with the ultimate plan of developing a Sindhi township. The camps in Bombay Presidency, spread over seven districts, with a capacity to accommodate 1,50,000 refugees, received the largest number of refugees from Sind. The camp population went on swelling steadily and by the close of the year 1948 the camp population in the various states which predominantly accommodated Sindhi population was as under:—

1.	Ajmer Merwara at Deoli	10,200
2.	Bombay	2,16,500
3.	Baroda	10,700
4.	Bikaner State	8,900
5.	Jaipur State	33,200
6.	Jodhpur State	11,800
7.	Madhya Bharat	8,400
8.	Former Rajasthan	15,800
9.	Saurashtra Union	45,500
10.	Vindhya Pradesh	15,400
11.	Madhya Pradesh	81,400
	Total ...	4,52,800

The camps were inevitably congested. In addition the *accommodation was of the most rudimentary type.* Procurement of sufficient quantity of food, arrangement of medical staff and supplies, blankets etc., had to be rushed. But this heavy expenditure could not be borne indefinitely as it was a serious drain on state resources; and in order to implement Government's decision to wind up gratuitous relief, by 31st October 1949 the relief camp at Deoli with a population of 12,200 was closed and in December 1949, its 11,500 inmates were sent for resettlement to Bhopal, while the remaining 200 families were sent to Alwar and Bharatpur for settlement on land. At the end of August 1949, the population of the 25 relief camps in Bombay was 2 1 lakhs out of which 1.55 lakhs were receiving doles. A scheme of gradual termination of gratuitous relief was introduced in the relief camps of Bombay by about the middle of April 1949 Doles were stopped from 1st January 1950 in all camps except in case of stranded women and children, infirm and aged persons and inmates of four other camps The camp at Virar was closed in October, and Pawai, in December 1949. In Madhya Bharat the Kerara camp was

closed in November 1949 and when some inmates were sent to Gwalior for being absorbed as labourers in factories, the others were sent to Gird district for settlement on land. The remaining camp at Manpur was also closed before the end of the year. The camp population in Madhya Pradesh was 54,000 at the end of August 1949 which was reduced to 13,600 by the end of December. Shahgarh and Malthone camps were closed in October. Three other camps Tilda, Mana and Chakrabhatta were converted into permanent townlets with a provision for 1,500 families. At the close of the year three camps remained, of which Bissi sheltered the old and infirm, and Mehagaon camp was used for accommodating new arrivals from Sind while the third camp at Katni was proposed to be converted into a permanent townlet. The population of Rajasthan camps at the end of August 1949 was 60,000 which was reduced to 15,000 by the end of December. The reduction was due to migration to Alwar and the Bharatpur districts for settlement on land, to Kandla for absorption in work connected with the building up of the township of Gandhidham, and to Bhopal and other parts of Rajasthan for re-settlement. The programme of gradual withdrawal of relief was started by the end of July 1949 and with gradual decrease in the cash doles, the population was reduced to 4,000 persons by the end of December 1949. In Saurashtra there were no regular camps, and the relief was provided to 28,000 persons living in evacuee houses, Dharmasalas and state buildings. From 1st August 1949, the policy of gradual withdrawal of government relief was put into operation and doles were stopped from 1st November 1949, except to unattached women and children, the old and infirm persons. At the end of December, only 3,000 persons were receiving doles. Similarly refugees were dispersed in Vindhya Pradesh and other places by stopping doles which were continued for some months more in a small number and were gradually discontinued, though many camps continued to provide shelter for those without alternative accommodation.

Thus the Sindhi refugees had dispersed throughout the Bombay State, Rajasthan, Central India and even further afield. Quite a large number of them went to Bombay and many more lived in and around the city. Most of them had dispersed according to their own free choice, and many of those who sought shelter

in the camps were dispersed without adequate arrangements for rehabilitation. The refugees in search of vocation, moved from place to place and the process of re-migration continuel for years. The bulk of the population as apparent from the Census Reports of 1951, settled down in Bombay, Saurashtra, Kutch, Rajasthan, Ajmer, Delhi, the old states of Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh and the rest of the population was scattered over the remaining parts of India as under:—

State	Persons from Sind	
	Males	Females
INDIA	4,16,204	8,60,025
(1) *West India*	1,76,433	1,61,152
Bombay	1,44,953	1,32,284
Saurashtra	26,176	23,926
Kutch	5,274	4,942
(2) *Central India*	73,358	64,379
Madhya Pradesh	40,529	34,760
Madhya Bharat	10,298	18,044
Hyderabad	1,351	974
Bhopal	6,309	5,466
Vindhya Pradesh	5,882	5,335
(3) *North-west India*	1,20,533	96,434
Rajasthan	54,574	49,310
Punjab	12,873	9,786
Pepsu	900	1,007
Ajmer	25,029	21,885
Delhi	27,106	14,420
Bilaspur	11	—
Himachal Pradesh	40	26
(4) *South India*	4,179	3,903
Madras	2,655	2,390
Mysore	1,509	1,512
Travancore-Cochin	15	1
Coorg	—	—
(5) *East India*	3,509	2,673
Bihar	1,357	1,040
Orissa	163	72
West Bengal	1,852	1,505
Chandranagore	—	4
(6) *North India*	38,192	31,294
Uttar Pradesh	38,192	31,294
(7) Andaman and Nicobar Islands ..	1	—

The displaced persons from Sind included not more than one or two per cent of the agricultural classes and majority of them being traders, petty shopkeepers, government servants and persons of learned professions, could not take to cultivation. Most of the Sindhis who were dispersed from camps for rehabilitation and were settled on lands in Bhopal, Alwar and elsewhere absconded mainly because of the land abandoned by Muslims in India was much poorer in quality and lacked irrigation facilities, and parfly because they did not like the idea of being scattered over in different villages. Being averse to resettlement in rural areas, the Sindhi refugees are scattered over in urban places in the various States of India. In Rajasthan, with the integration of covenanting States, the immigrants fitted themselves in the scheme of the expanding city of Jaipur as the capital of the new State. Out of the total population of 37,468 refugees in the district, as many as 30,678 refugees—Sindhis and others—settled in the city of Jaipur alone. Similarly, in Ajmer 98.3 per cent of the total population settled in urban areas as noted in the Census Report of 1951. Most of the remaining refugees in Rajasthan are dispersed in urban areas, specially in the district town of Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kotah and Bhilwara and partly in Tonk, Alwar and Bharatpur. In the old Madhya Bharat State they are mainly distributed in the districts of Gird, Indore, Sehore, Ujjain and Mandsore and partly in Goona, Ratlam and Raisen districts. Similarly, in the old State of Madhya Pradesh, they are principally distributed in Jabalpur, Raipur, Nagpur, Hoshangabad and partly in Bilaspur, Amaravati, Akola, Raigarh and Bhandra. In the Bombay State they have separate townships of Ulhasnagar with about a hundred thousand displaced population and of Gandhi Dham in Kutch with Kandla as a developing major port. They are further distributed in Greater Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Baroda, Nasik, Surat, Ahmednagar, Kolhapur, and other urban areas of Saurashtra and Gujarat and West and East Khandesh.

A large number of Sindhi refugees have rehabilitated themselves. "There is widespread testimony that the Sind refugees in general are very hard-working people. Whatever may happen to them they do not become beggars."[1] There was a large gap between the economic position of Muslims who migrated from India and the Sindhis, as bulk of the urban Muslims who migrated

belonged to the the lower middle classes and consisted mostly of unskilled workers, craftsmen, artisans, mechanics and others. Consequently the Sindhis could not fill in the abandoned economy of the Muslims, but by enterprise and hardwork they captured local markets in cloth, provisions and sundry goods everywhere. And by their supply of consumer-goods at competitive and cheaper rates, the prices went down. However, so doing they destroyed the trade of local inhabitants which led to a rivalry and opposition from the local population. The dispersal of refugees from camps without adequate arrangements for permanent rehabilitation further aggravated their problem of resettlement. As permanent rehabilitation according to the Government view could be "achieved satisfactorily only as a feature of general development of the country as a whole"; the policy of mere dispersal without arranging for the means of livelihood could in the long run only create further problems.

The trading castes in Sind were the Lohana, Bhatia, Khatri, Sahta and the Chhapru, the first being the principal caste and forming the general body of Sind Hindus. By their ability and patience, the Lohana had subsisted through the darker periods and were dispersed throughout the province, in the jungles, mountains and desert, in all parts of India, Afghanistan Arabian coast, Central Asia and now almost in all parts of the world. However small the village of a Muslim agricultural tribe might be, the shop of a Hindu was surely to be found. He maintained credit with the agricultural peasants, though money-lending was his subsidiary profession. He was "either a cloth merchant, a grocer, a jeweller or a banker, a confectioner, a provision merchant, a hotel-keeper, or a dealer in sundry goods." No Sindhi Hindu in the normal course could profess the occupation of a barber, a washerman, a tailor, a potter, or a shoe-maker, as these occupations were considered menial and brought degradation in the social status of the Lohana. He would rather engage himself in hawking, labour, household service or even profess the occupations of an ordinary cook than turn to these occupations of a barber, a washerman, a mason, or a carpenter which lower his social status. While by their endurance and hardwork, they have mainly re-established themselves in the various petty trades in India, some of them have taken to the professions which they

once considered as degrading. In the cities like Ulhasnagar, Ajmer and Jaipur they sold fish.

A more important community of merchants than the petty shop keepers in Sind were the dealers in grain, cotton and oil seeds. The firms dealing in these commodities (Kothis) were found flourishing in Karachi, Sukkur, and other important towns of Sind, the Punjab, and important grain centres of India. The ownership of a trading firm of this kind commanded the highest social status among the Lohana Bhaiband. Karachi being an important port, most of the Kothis were established there with various organisations of traders, brokers and commission agents. The Hindu trader of Sind was for the most part a speculator. He speculated, stocked grains and entered into forward contracts as commission agent on behalf of the up-country merchants. The stock-yards of the grain (Kharis) were maintained by the Lohanas in several towns for storing grain from fields for sale in the towns or for being despatched to Karachi. The export trade consisted of raw produce which was most often purchased by the local Banias on the field where it grew, and found its way through various agencies, either to Karachi direct, or to other mercantile centres, like Sukkur, where the produce underwent the processes of sorting, cleaning and pressing. This class of traders naturally could prosper in the port towns of Bombay and Kandla or in the big cities like Ahmedabad, Raipur, Nagpur and Delhi where they have set up the agencies of import and export or deal in wholesale in cloth or in grain speculation.

Whether in petty trades or large commercial occupations, there were several factors which hindered the establishment of their business. The Sindhis had imperfect knowledge of opportunities, and the choice or scope for their business was limited. They had to face many unforeseeable circumstances in the new country which eventually caused failure of business. The standard of living which they followed coupled with the constant drain on their economy caused by heavy rents and cost of living, told upon their financial position. Many of the petty traders who had nearly run through all the government loans, almost wandered from place to place. Bereft of their properties and financially impaired by the sudden suspension of business relations among

them in Pakistan, the Sindhi traders could not have access to underdeveloped country side. In a system of free enterprise, a new venture is always uncertain in terms of its results. The absorptive capacity of the receiving states being limited, the Sindhis had to disperse widely in the urban areas where they did not get the credit facilities they had enjoyed in Sind.

Another class of merchants known as "Sindh Workis," the leading community of Lohana traders, came to be characterised as such after the British conquest of Sind and rose to high position from the stage of hawkers. On subjugation of Sind by [illegible] tal of Sind and [illegible] fts. Besides the [illegible] special arts for which Sind was famous, were embroidery in silk and gold and silver thread, inlaid gold and silver-ware, lacquerware and glazed pottery. The local hawkers carried these products of art to European quarters for sale where it came to be known as "Sind work." With heavy demand and enormous profits, the hawkers carried the works of art to different parts of India wherever they found European settlements. They found a profitable business in Bombay where the Sindhi capitalists engaged hawkers for sale of "Sind works" of art. The first Sind work merchants to move outside India were Messrs Pohumal and Vasiamal, the former went to Egypt and the latter to Strait Settlements. They established their concerns there and the demand for Sindhi partners, managers, clerks and servants induced many people to go abroad. Huge profits and prosperity enjoyed by them attracted many a merchant from Hyderabad, Shikarpur and other places to venture in various parts of the globe. Wherever they penetrated, they started by hawking, for, besides the elimination of risk in the small scale undertaking, it gave them the experience for future prospects, the knowledge of local dialects and the Government rules of taxation and finally the chance of profitably deciding the selection of a locality for opening firms on large-scale. Whatever the part of the world may be, the Sindhi firms employed managers, partners, clerks and even ordinary servants from among Sind Hindus who were recruited from the entire Sind.

Thousands of families which derived their maintenance, mounting to the figure of crores every year, were naturally not very much affected by this mass migration except by way of loss to their properties in Sind. This class of people, therefore, naturally seems to have settled down in Bombay, round about or other suitable place as could be convenient to them.

Next in importance from the point of view of rehabilitation was the Amil or the hereditary caste of Government servants. The Amils by their ability were able to establish themselves as an indispensable class of administrators to the Muslim rulers and gradually entered in all state departments as clerks and officers and enjoyed the highest position in the state. As an influential and educated class of Hindus, they had taken to learned professions such as legal, medical and educational, as also to technical professions, but the advance of education among the trading communities put them in search for new vocations and many of the Amils have since taken to trading professions. Likewise, with general rise in educational standards, the Lohana, Bhatia, Khatri and others who were in government service like the Amil faced similar problem of employment in India. A large number of them found employment through the National Employment Service which has a net-work of Employment Exchange Bureaus all over the country. A Special Employment Bureau working as an adjunct of the Employment Service, helped the highly qualified technical and professional men amongst the displaced persons to secure employment. Besides this the Transfer Bureau set up by the Government of India assisted displaced government employees in their absorption and a large number of employees in Railways, Post and Telegraph Offices who opted for service in India were absorbed in corresponding posts. The problem of rehabilitation of government servants was therefore not as serious as of those belonging to the learned professions. The position of lawyers in particular was not very satisfactory and many of them got absorbed in the Central or State services. Persons of technical profession did not present a serious problem as they could be conveniently absorbed in the large developing economy of India.

Most of the castes, though numerically not so important, derived their livelihood from priestly occupation. They were the Brahmanic, the Daryapanthi and the Nanikpanthi priestly castes, though a number of them had taken to secular professions. Of the Brahmanic priestly castes, the Brahmin derived his prescribed fees by officiating over the Brahmanic rites, in cash and clothes, food stuffs, and other household articles. The Jajik who also usually accompanied the Brahmin in the performance of sacred rites, had his fees similarly fixed at half the amount payable to the Brahmin. They received various charities and alms on all sacred days of the Vaishnavites, received remunerations for invoking the gods during illness of their disciples, practised astrology, acted as middlemen in the formation of marital alliances and received many fixed amounts from the village panchayats on various occasions. The Daryapanthis have mostly abandoned their priestly occupation since long except those of Sehwan who carry on the priestly occupation solely or in addition to their normal professions. The Gur who was the keeper of the temple of the lion-goddess (Singha Bhawani) had similar fixed payments from the Sonara, Wahan and worshippers of the mother goddess.

The Nanikpanthi was found in every Hindu village and even if it be a small collection of Hindu families, the Nanikpanth temple (Tikana) was surely to be found. The Brahmins being numerically insignificant, the Bhai had been found serviceable on many of the religious festivities and minor rites of the Brahmins and the Daryapanthis. He was also the village teacher in rural areas who taught Vanika or the commercial script and elementary arithmetic. Besides the temple income, he got the customary fees from each student and like all the other priestly castes received payments for performance of the Nanik-panthi rites or for officiating at the Brahmanic ceremonies. In big cities and towns, temple-keeping was a profitable business. Proverbially, each street had a tikana or temple and many had made fortunes, built properties, were much happier and well-dressed than the ordinary Bania and took richer food than many of the Hindus. They were happy and prosperous.

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With the decline in the general financial position of the Lohana and other castes, the priestly castes could not enjoy the same income or standard of living as they did in Sind. Consequently many of them have taken to petty trades or other occupations. Even when in Sind, they had taken to education and a good number of them have been absorbed in services. The break-up of the Sindhi society and the wide dispersal of the Sindhis have made it difficult for them to cling to their previous modes of livelihood, as in most of the cases, even the people of the same village have migrated to different parts of India leading to consequential dissolution of the priestly order. Wherever Sindhis have concentrated in large numbers, they have been able to absorb some of the members of the priestly castes, specially the Nanik-panthis, many of whom have re-established themselves in the new temples.

But the most important occupation of Hindus in Sind was land holding. As early as 1896 Sir E. James submitted a full report to Government in which significant facts were disclosed that more than 42 per cent of the arable land in the province was owned, or held in beneficiary possession under mortgage by Hindus and that for every acre taken by a Hindu from Government, about 3 acres were bought from Musalmans.[2] With the opening of the barrage cannals, the Hindus acquired large tracts of land. Besides being land owners, a large number of Hindus were lessees who in all matters stepped into the place of the Zamindar, from whom they held a lease, or consecutive leases, running over a long term of years.[3] They were wholly responsible for all tilling operations and paid the assessment direct to Government. The management of land was the main source of their livelihood and in several cases it was their sole avocation. Thus, through acquisition of land by direct purchase or by transfer of ownership or by acquisition of mortgage or lease rights from the Muslims, the Hindus formed a very powerful class of Zamindars in Sind. They have been the greatest sufferers among the Sindhi immigrants. Not only abolition of Jagirdari and imposition of restrictions on the size of holdings but also the inferior quality of land and absence of irrigation facilities have prevented the Sindhis from settling on land in India. Therefore, they had to go in for new trades for which they lacked experience.

Want of experience and lack of knowledge of local conditions led to failure of business in many cases and the capital was soon exhausted by losses and higher standard of living. However, they were permitted by the Government of India "to purchase government built and evacuee property in the compensation pool against the capitalised value of the compensation due on their verified land claims." Such facilities could be availed of by those who have settled in urban areas and rehabilitation colonies, but this could not solve their rehabilitation problem.

Aversion to land tilling and the formation of their settlements away from the fields, had created only a class of Hindu Zamindars and they did not form the peasantry of Sind. "The Hindus in Sind were not of an agricultural class, nor would the position of a Hindu landlord have been tolerable under the Mirs" Therefore, while the Zamindar and the cultivator alike looked to the Bania for money when they needed it, he had no desire for the land itself. There was however a good number of gardeners and vegetable growers, and tobacco was also mainly cultivated by the Lohana on the lands in the vicinity of villages or towns. The Sindhi agriculturist classes in India as would appear from their distribution by livelihood in 1951 (Appendix B) are numerically insignificant. Those who were settled on land by the Government of India in most of the cases abandoned their lands and re-migrated to urban places for settlement.

The artisans having been converted to Mohammedanism, the local industry also fell in the hand of Muslims. All the industries of shoe-making, tanning, cotton weaving, woollen textiles, rugs and carpets, silk weaving, boat building, lacquerware, glazed pottery, stucco work, and partly dyeing and many other local industries for which Sind was so famous in olden days were in the hands of Muslims The Hindu artisans, the Sonar and the Thathara (metal workers) being numerically insignificant were distributed throughout Sind in big towns The Thathara prepared all household articles of copper, brass and bronze such as plates, glasses, jars and various cooking utensils. The industry was found mainly in important towns such as Larkana, Shikarpur and Sukkur, the last being reputed for manufacture of small fancy articles, such as snuff boxes and rose

water sprinklers, sculptured and enamelled. There were also Lohana and Khatri dyers. Three-fourths of the dyers in the Bombay presidency before separation of Sind were found in Sind. The Khatris or Khatis, are supposed to have immigrated into Bombay from Sind. The industry has three branches, cotton dyeing, silk dyeing, and calico printing. The art of embroidery was also much advanced. The small scale industries of Hindus consisted of manufacture in tin, soap, tobacco, boat building besides flour mills, machines for husking rice, printing presses, and distilleries, while the medium size industries included a number of cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing factories where cotton was collected and prepared for despatch to Karachi, besides metal and biscuit factories or chemical manufacturing industries etc.

While the Sindhis could not establish manufacturing concerns on large-scale in India for which they had neither finance nor technical experience, they have installed a large number of small-scale industries and flour mills everywhere, even in the countryside. Besides the towns of Ulhasnagar and Gandhi Dham, Kubernagar (Ahmedabad) and Bairagarh (Bhopal) refugee colonies sprang up as extensions or small townlets on the outskirts of the big cities, planned by the Government, to facilitate absorption of refugees in the economy of big towns. Wherever Sindhis are in sufficient numbers, Sindhi colonies flourish as extensions of big towns but where they are in a very small number, they have been accommodated either in evacuee houses or they continue to live in the rented houses. The houses left by Muslim evacuees are in Muslim localities, very inferior and unsuitable for accommodation, and they have not provided adequate shelter to the displaced persons from Sind.

Situated on the main Bhopal-Indore Road at a distance of five miles from Bhopal, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, Bairagarh lies between the Vindhyachal range and the beautiful tank of Bhopal. The township which was created for prisoners of war in the World War II shelters Sindhi refugees in its abandoned barracks. The population of the town was 12,000 in 1954.[4] About four-fifths of the families settled in this township did not come on their own and were sent by special trains by the Government in

pursuance of its policy of dispersal of the displaced population from camps. About one-sixth of the population went there of their own accord in search of business or job,[5] and a few of them went because their relatives had gone there. An examination of 150 families in this township revealed that 52 per cent of the population came from Sind towns having a population of more than 5,000 but less than 50,000, 8 per cent came from big cities and 32.66 per cent came from settlements having a population of less than 5,000 but not less than 1,000. The bulk of the population, therefore, is neither purely urban nor rural but they are all conversant with techniques known to urban wholesale dealers.[6] Though it is difficult to arrive at any definite concluson from the small number of families examined, it appeared that the immigrants from Nawabshah district predominated.

Divided in two parts by the main road, the township contained 195 barracks and 2,305 quarters in 1955, each small room accommodating 5.2 persons on an average, though actually the extent of overcrowding was much higher than this in some quarters[7] Majority of the population lived in one-room tenements which, in most cases, accommodated more than six persons; instances are not wanting where a single room provided accommodation to 20 members. Except few quarters which provided separate latrines, the rest had common latrines which remained overcrowded Of the 150 families examined, 22 per cent of them obtained their water from a tap which supplied the needs of a large number of families, ranging from 101 to 430, 16 6 per cent had to depend on water-taps, supplying water to 51 to 100 families and 62 6 per cent of the families drew water from a tap, supplying water to more than one but less than fifty families This mode of living which leads to loss of privacy is at the root of many of their social and moral ills from which the Sindhis continue to suffer in such colonies and townships.

In social and economic composition, this examination carried out by Mr. S. M. Haider revealed that an overwhelming majority of the population (92 per cent) consisted of the Lohanas engaged in business and that caste was not an important element in their social organisation, inter-dining between the various castes being common. As the township did not hold out good prospects

for the employment of the displaced persons who are traders and shopkeepers, the Government had indeed given up the plan of building a township. But with the setting up of the capital of Madhya Pradesh at Bhopal, it holds out better prospects for economic absorption of the Sindhis in the growing economy of Bhopal.

Another Sindhi township, Kubernagar, designed to house thirty thousand population was built near the air field at a distance of about 4 to 5 miles from Ahmedabad city with a view of bringing it within the municipal limits of the Ahmedabad Corporation. The land measuring about five hundred acres was acquired for this purpose by the Government and thousands of one-room tenements were constructed to house the displaced persons who are mainly absorbed in the industrial city of Ahmedabad. As a cloth-producing centre, Ahmedabad supports many displaced persons who numbered 41,675 in 1951 in cloth business and many wholesale dealers or exporters of cloth have set up their agency firms and many have been absorbed as provision merchants while the rest conform to the general economic pattern of Sindhi traders and shopkeepers.

But the more important town from point of port-trade is Gandhi Dham. It is in the neighbourhood of Kandla, a new developing major port in Cutch, which is 210 miles nearer to Delhi than Bombay. Its hinterland will cover the states of Rajasthan, Punjab, Delhi and parts of Uttar Pradesh. The township has been constructed by the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation Ltd., Bombay, a Jt. Stock Company, with an authorised capital of Rs. 2.5 crores. The land measuring 17,500 acres was granted to the corporation under a lease for construction of this township for resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced persons and the financial aid to the extent of Rs. 1,11,00,000 was granted by the Government of India by way of loan. The construction for housing mass population of the refugees consists of one-room barrack type of houses and single and double room family quarters as the loan was advanced for construction of four thousand simple type houses. The town is based on modern planning with all civic amenities and though the population in 1951 consisted of only 5,092 persons the township has since developed to a greater

extent accommodating about ten thousand Sindhis and providing for all classes of buildings, private and public. It holds better future prospects for Sindhi merchants, but it is *not* expected to prosper as a Sindhi town of New Sind.

By far the most important settlement of Sindhis is Ulhasnagar. Situated at a distance of 34 miles from Bombay, it covers the old five military camps of Kalyan, and is designed within an area of three thousand acres to accommodate 2,00,000 people. The present population of the township is about 1,05,000 which is housed in the military barracks as well as newly built quarters. The new constructions comprise 600 blocks of one-room tenements, each block composed of 6 tenements with common latrine arrangements, 2,480 blocks of two-room tenements, each block consisting of two or six tenements with both separate and common latrine arrangements and 300 blocks of three room tenements, each block comprising four self-contained houses. The barracks, totalling 2,126, of which about five hundred are used as latrines or for other purposes, accommodate ten to twelve families each, while over one hundred of these barracks which have not been so far partitioned as separate houses continue to shelter 15 to 20 families each.

The bazars located on the important roads consist of 4,225 cabins and half constructions besides 431 shops built by the Government. A surface drainage for which the Government has sanctioned Rs. 8,00,000 is under construction. The electric communications carried by old poles and wires cause frequent breakdowns in the power supply. The Government has however transferred the charge of electric supply to the Bombay Electricity Board with a financial aid of Rs. 9.72 lakhs for installation of a new power sub-station and the work of fixing new poles and replacing of the old wires is in progress. The repair of roads has been recently started for which purpose the Government of India has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 14 lakhs. There is also an improvement scheme for water works under which branch lines are being connected to the main water pipe so as to ensure water supply for 24 hours. Water hydrants have been provided in the scheme for emergency use of fire, but there is no fire fighting station with the result that by the time necessary help is receiv-

ed from Kalyan or Ambarnath, the wooden structures turn a fire incident into a fire hazard. The work of sanitation and health is looked after with the aid of two vaccinators and four hundred sweepers provided with two trucks, and the whole civic administration is run by an administrator with a staff of over one hundred government servants. To ensure speedy development of the township, a coordination development committee of the representatives from the various concerned departments of the Government and the citizens has been in operation since February 1953.

In composition, the population of Ulhasnagar largely comes from the rural villages of almost every part of Sind. About 2 per cent of the population (2,300 according to the figures of last year) are destitutes, infirm, orphans and widows for whose maintenance an amount of Rs. 35,000 per month is paid to the Destitute Homes which look after them. About 5 per cent of the population has remained in a state of fluctuation as a few thousand families have gradually moved to the Bombay suburbs or elsewhere, leaving the barracks to be occupied by the families who appear to have moved slowly towards Bombay for resettlement, specially from Ajmer and other parts of Rajasthan. A partial aid is received by 317 families at the rate of Rs. 15/- per month on the condition that they would not remain in the Destitute Homes and Rs. 7,500/- are paid every month by the Government to 291 families by way of maintenance allowance against their verified claims.

It is claimed that over nine thousand persons are engaged in business, a large majority of whom are shopkeepers. In all, there are 4,656 shops in the whole town employing Sindhis in various trades which include cloth, provisions and sundry goods. The occupations which they considered socially inferior in Sind have been taken up by them, including the trades of barbers, washermen, and fish-selling. Cheaper rates specially of cloth attract people from Kalyan and Bombay, but for the most part as far as small trade and petty shop-keeping go, the people are only eating up each other. The people in general have not lagged behind in conforming to the general economic pattern of the country as quite a large number of them have taken to manu-

facture on small scale. About 250 small-scale industries have sprung up which include about a dozen saw mills, seven or eight hosiery factories, three silk factories, a number of manufactures in paints and colours, cloth printing and dyeing, thread dyeing, of card-board boxes, ready-made clothes, embroidery and sweetmeats for sale in Bombay. Besides, they have started bakeries, oil refineries, soap manufacture, aerated water factories, rice husking mills, thread ball manufacturing, biri making, candle manufacturing, motor works, oil mills, workshops and a number of grinding mills Among about 80 different home-industries run by the displaced persons with insufficient resources, food industry is the biggest.[1] Home, where every kind of sweets, cakes, pastries, pickles and jams are manufactured for sale, has become a centre of production in this township. The textile industry is the second biggest. There are 37 power looms and 100 hand looms catering to Sindhi tastes Hosiery, ready-made clothes, dyeing and printing and manufacture of bed-sheets, pillow covers, napkins, etc., are some of the home industries in textile. Embroidery, plastic manufacture, stationery, wood work, leather work and cosmetics form some of the important industries which employ Sindhis in those vocations on small scale.

A site for small scale industries covering an area of about 45 acres for 60 plots is ready for occupation on receipt of final sanction by the Government for setting up the industries by local and outside industrialists So far the scheme of three industrialists namely Hindustan Pencils, Western Agencies Company and Plastic Sheets Manufacture have been finalised by the Government, but of them only the Hindustan Pencils have started the construction work of the factory building Similar sites for medium size industries consisting of 12 plots have been reserved out of which five plots have been alloted by the Government to Messrs. Herman and Mohatta Ltd. who have commenced the work of starting industry. Three medium scale industries namely Century Rayon, Amar Dye Stuffs and Bharat Chemicals have been installed on the site previously used by the military authorities for the dairy farm. All these industries have been granted permission on the undertaking that a prescribed percentage of the skilled and unskilled labour will be employed from among the displaced persons. Messrs. Testeels Ltd. have undertaken to employ

as many as 300 persons out of a total of 750 persons estimated to be employed in the factory. None of the medium size industries is owned by displaced persons. The Government announced their policy of giving 50 per cent financial aid in the form of loan for starting such industries, but the terms and conditions on which the financial aid is granted coupled with the difficulties of water supply and lack of cheap power and above all delay in the disposal of applications for necessary sanction are factors which do not attract industrialists from among the displaced persons who have almost exhausted their own finances. The charge of electric power is comparatively very heavy than in the neighbouring towns of Kalyan, Bhivandi and Ambernath where the charge per unit for industrial purposes is 4½, 3 and 6 N.P. respectively while the charge in Ulhasnagar is of 15 N.P. Unless the electric charges are lowered the industries of displaced persons are not expected to prosper.

Nor can the industries started by persons other than those displaced can be expected to solve the problem of rehabilitation or substantially aid the people to obtain gainful occupation. Almost by the end of 1957, the Century Rayon employed 96 (20.5 per cent) skilled labourers and 26 unskilled labourers (8 per cent), Indian Dye Stuff engaged five persons in each class of labour at 5 and 4 per cent of the whole labour respectively and Amar Dye Chemicals employed 119 (2.52 per cent) skilled and 12 (5.55 per cent) unskilled labour from among the displaced persons, while Messrs. Testeels Ltd. employed 24 on the technical staff and 22 as skilled and 46 as unskilled labour. In all 242 persons are employed in the skilled labour, 89 persons in the unskilled labour and 24 as the technical staff making a total of 355 employees of whom 8 displaced persons have been employed from outside the town of Ulhasnagar. The low persentage of employment is quite significant and a proper approach to the problem of rehabilitation would be to aid in the growth of industries by the displaced persons themselves.

In all 800 to 900 persons are estimated to go outside as labourers in various factories of Bombay and its suburbs by the local trains from the three stations namely Ulhasnagar, Vithalwadi and Shahad which with the station of Kalyan surround

the town of Ulhasnagar. Of the ten thousand persons who approximately leave for Bombay every day, a little less than a thousand are students, most of whom earn and learn together as some of the Bombay Colleges provide facilities of morning classes. The remaining majority consists mainly of Government servants and businessmen who carry on business in the city of Bombay, and some of whom leave for purchase of goods for their business in Ulhasnagar.

The skilled labourers and artisans have been trained in the Government Vocational Training Centre which provides training in 14 subjects including printing, rubber stamp making, book binding, wireman's course, electricity, tailoring, carpentry, hosiery, weaving, blacksmithy, tin smithy, welding, electroplating, driver's course, automobiles, bamboo work and others. The admission is open to boys over 16 years age with a minimum qualification of 4th class vernacular. So far 6,000 persons have received training in this centre of whom about 2,000 are claimed to have sought employment and about 1,000 persons are estimated to be employed in smithy, bag and box manufacturing, carpentry and tailoring etc. Similarly of the total number of 435 turners and fitters trained, 75 per cent have been employed. This training however is confined to the persons at the lowest stratum as the centre does not award any diploma, the course being limited to one year's training at the maximum.

The general economic condition of the people is far from satisfactory. Though there has been no economic survey of the people by which we may arrive at a correct assessment of the extent to which displaced persons from Sind have been rehabilitated, on all estimates about 60 per cent of the population may be said to have been gainfully occupied, 5 per cent are still in a state of unstationary life, 2 per cent are maintained by the Government, 5 to 10 per cent do not get two meals a day, while the remaining are able to drag on under great physical and mental strain. Instances of begging though rare, fall in general standard of health specially tuberculosis from which very few people suffered in Sind and the great physical strain under which they seek employment in Bombay at a distance of 34 miles are sufficient indications of unemployment or

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partial employment. Even if they are employed, in several cases their earnings are so small that they cannot maintain their families at a standard below their former standard of living. No doubt they are surrounded by an expanding economy and the villagers from remote distances come to buy consumer goods which the shop-keepers sell at a lower price than the price in Bombay shops, and if they are to be saved from the spectre of unemployment, the only solution lies in starting small-scale industries and encouraging handicrafts and home industries by financial aid, cheap power supply and facilities of water supply. And fortunately the class of the people who mainly come from the rural areas of Sind could conveniently be absorbed in such productive enterprise.

The Vocational Training Centre which is imparting training to some 450 displaced persons under a sanctioned strength of 540 has so far trained 5,943 persons in various occupations, but with changing economic pattern of the people, the need of establishing a technological college is very urgent. There are as many as three Sindhi colleges in Bombay catering to the needs of Sindhi students in arts, science, commerce and law, and it would be by far the wisest course to provide for higher technical education to Sindhi students a little less than a thousand of whom daily go to Bombay from Ulhasnagar. It is true that many of them are employed in services, but the technical education which the college might provide besides giving scope to young men who pass the S.S.C. examination to qualify themselves in technical spheres, will offer vast field for technical training to Sindhi students of Bombay and outside who for want of adequate facilities cling to their old line of education. This Centre when provided with diploma course together with the Rehabilitation Production Centre which employs about 300 labourers in the manufacture of colours, dyes, and wooden articles etc. (patronised by the Bombay Government by placing orders for various products) and the technological college if established would not only solve the rehabilitation problem to a great extent, but ensure the Sindhi population with their economic assimilation in the future socialistic pattern of India.

For the education of children there are a number of primary schools mainly run by the District School Board, Thana. A number of middle and high schools have sprung up in the town mainly with the efforts of the Sindhi Education Society which is registered under the Bombay Public Trust Act, 1950. This Society has under its management four high schools, one middle school, one primary school, three Hindi schools (pathshalas) for imparting Hindi education. Another Society registered under the Registration of Societies Act, 1861 manages one high school, one middle school and two primary schools attached to each of them. Then there is one more high school with a separate section for girls, and two primary schools attached to it, besides one other middle school in camp No. 4. In all there are six high schools, three middle schools and seventeen primary schools besides one Government Technical High School, five commercial institutes, three children's institutes (Balkan-ji-Baris) and five training centres for ladies (narishalas) in tailoring and handicrafts and an Ambar Charka production centre. The Sindhi language in the Arabic script is the medium of instruction in all schools and Marathi is taught as a regional language. The schools fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the Poona University and for higher studies the students go to Bombay for receiving college education. The incidence of literacy and the standard of education is evidently high among the displaced persons as would appear from the number of schools and the college students going to Bombay everyday.

The influence of migration on the social set up of the people is far-reaching. The joint family has been split up on account of limited accommodation provided to each family as well as the tendency on the part of immigrants to show separate heads of families in the early stages of migration for claiming rations, loans, compensation and other rehabilitation benefits. In social status the family has experienced a set back as their kinsfolk are dispersed widely in India and the people of different social groups have mixed together creating social distance and some times leading to quarrels.

Before migration thousands of marriages took place and even girls who were not of marriageable age were married before

their parents left for India. For the next few years the number of marriages was naturally very low. The bridegroom price has gone very high and with the break up of the old panchayats which exercised social control over the members, marriage has become almost an economic transaction. Increase in literacy and standard of education among those who had rural background mainly account for the increase in dowry. The marriage age has risen and the frequency of marriage is lowered by the rapid educational progress and the growing economic independence of the woman.

The town houses about 22,000 families, in five camps each of which has a separate Panchayat with a Central Panchayat for the whole town. Though their main functions have been connected with rehabilitation of the displaced persons, they have discharged the functions arising out of the social needs of the community, but as the society became gradually stabilized, several Panchayats on the regional basis which they had in Sind have sprung up. The people have split up themselves for gratification of their cultural aspirations into separate Panchayats of the original inhabitants of Larkana, Sukkur, Rohri, Shikarpur, Shiti and Ubauro on the basis of different social and cultural patterns of behaviour which they brought from their places of origin. There is also a caste Panchayat of the Chhaprus, but it also had regional background as this caste was localised in Sind.

The lack of privacy caused by living together of several families in a single barrack brought about social and moral degradation of the people. Each barrack accommodated 15 to 20 families or even more till they were partitioned after years of occupation. Even now more than a hundred barracks lie in the same condition without providing any chances of private life. The tradition, an effective agent of social control, ceased to give inspiration to the people who misused the opportunities that frequently recurred in the crowded life. The space occupied by most of the families in the barracks is much less than the minimum standard, the latrines and water taps are common leading to frequent quarrels, the sanitary conditions are highly

deplorable and during the monsoons the open drains overflow spreading filthy water all over the area. A mosquitoe and mice ridden town devoid of healthy conditions of life and comfort and producing great physical strain has an adverse effect on the health and vitality of the people. The Bombay camps recorded in 1949, 280 births and 809 deaths in January, 213 births and 689 deaths in February and 209 births and 524 deaths in March. None of the camps in other parts of India registered such a high rate of mortality. This disproportion is accounted for by low birth rate due to lack of privacy in the barracks in the early years of migration. The health which is overshadowed by tuberculosis requires greater provision in the hospital.

The camp life which notoriously collects the criminals has yet remained another problem of the township. A number of murders and incidents of thefts and robberies have occurred though it is claimed that in most of the cases the murderers have murdered each other and wiped out the rival gangs. Gambling is on the increase and a large number of cases of breach of prohibition are instituted against the displaced persons every month.

It is no wonder then that better class of people should have gradually abandoned the camp and moved to Bombay. The camp residents command little respect from their brethren in Bombay who harbour a growing prejudice against them. If the township is to be saved from disaster, the poverty, lack of privacy and insanitary conditions which lie at the root of their collective pathology, must be removed as they brook no delay. Remedy should correspond to the gravity of the disease. Rehabilitation and the policy of increasing the evacuee pool, at all times cannot go well together. There are about thirteen thousand non-claimants in the camps as the families had been split up on migration and grew in their size by marriages. A speedy solution of enabling them to acquire title in the properties is necessary so that they may change the mode of living. The problem of unpartitioned barracks should be solved, civic life should be restored and the municipal administration under effective Government control in the early stages should be brought into existence.

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Above all the problem of poverty should be fought by encouraging industries to enable the townsmen to become independent of Bombay which supports an equal or even greater number of Sindhis with greater comfort and higher standard of living creating a gulf wider and wider every day between the citizens of Bombay and Ulhasnagar.

Though there has been a considerable shrinkage in the extent of their social field, the Sindhis were afforded great opportunities for reshaping their life on co-operative basis. In the Bombay State out of 3½ lakhs of displaced persons, about fifty thousand "are generally linked and connected with institutions working on co-operative principles."[9] Out of 27 districts in the Bombay State, they have formed co-operative societies for various purposes in 17 districts, the number of consumer societies being the largest.[10] Out of 90 consumers societies spread over 16 districts, Thana district has 34, Ahmedabad has 13, Bombay has 10, and East Khandesh has 14 societies, one among the best consumers societies being Sindunagar Co-operative Consumers Society, Koliwada with a membership of 406 persons. It runs a ration shop, cloth shop, kerosene depot, general provision store, flour mill and a milk centre. The members have received back already more than what they had paid as share capital in the shape of bonuses.[11] The extent of co-operative effort could be well imagined from the fact that during a period when bases of solidarity have weakened, the Sindhis have organised a federation of 22 consumers societies at Kalyan which supervises them and deals in wholesale business.

Similarly there are 30 producers societies, 15 of them being in the Thana district. There are two societies organised by ladies, one at Wadaj (Ahmedabad) employing about 100 women workers and the other at Jalgaon. Besides there are 12 agricultural co-operative societies, one co-operative bank at Bombay and a number of housing societies. Though the success of co-operative effort depends upon the socialisation of interests, the Sindhis who are still in a process of resocialisation can hold

together with great cohesion within the orbit of their co-operative life.

1 Horace Alexander, *New Citizens of India*, pp. 60-61.

2 Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 337.

3 *Census of India*, 1921—*Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII Part I, p. 218.

4 *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. VI, March 1957, p. 64.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

8 *Socio-Economist*, University of Bombay, 1955-56—"Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Home Industries in Kalyan Camps"—Assandas Bherwani, p. 57.

9 *Socio-Economist*, University of Bombay, 1954-55. "The Contribution of Displaced Persons towards the Building of Co-operative Commonwealth" —A. N. Bherwani, p. 106.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

11 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

HUMAN RELATIONS

Human relations which bind the various elements of Sindhi society are based, as elsewhere in India, on the institution of caste. Though liberal in its operation its role in marriage, kinship and community life is significant. The castes among Sindhis may be classified as trading castes namely the Lohana, Bhatia and Khatri ; religious castes namely the Sarswat, Pushkarna, Jajik and Bhat ; the Lohana sub-castes namely the Amil, Thakur, Udasi, Masand, Gurpoto and Bhai ; the occupational castes, the Sonara and Wanhan with their priestly caste, the Gur ; and finally the localised castes, the Sahta and the Chhapru.

The Lohanas (numbering 2,46,243 males and 2,13,115 females in 1931) form the bulk of the Hindu population. There are various theories of its origin but accordnig to common belief the term Lohana is derived from 'Lava', the son of Ram or hero incarnate of Vishnu. According to another tradition, the Rathor tribes of Rajputs had taken up arms against the Raja of Kanauj, Jaichand, who persecuted them. Conscious of their weakness they prayed to god Varuna (river-god) who asked them to take shelter in an iron fort miraculously built by him. Guided by the voice, they stayed in the fort and came out victorious, but the fort disappeared after twenty-one days. Therefore they built another fort and settled there and since then they are called Lohanas (of iron) instead of Rathors.[1]

According to another theory propounded by A.M.T. Jackson, the name Lohana is identical to Lamani derived from Lavan or salt, the tribe which transported salt before the opening of cart-

roads. They are also called Vania, a mere variant of the description for grain dealing castes viz., Vania or Baniya and Lohana, the latter being identified with Vania as it has been from time to time recruited from different elements of the population dealing in the trade.[2]

Their original home however, appears to be Lohanpur in Multan.[3] The Greeks had divided Sind into four divisions[4] which lasted some time after Alexander as "Zor, Askalandusa, Samid and Lohana" which shows that the Lohana was a territorial name of a place in Sind.[5] Though this mass of confusion created by various theories leads us to no definite conclusion, one thing is certain that the Lohanas are descended from the ancient Rajput hordes who inhabited and ruled the country before the dawn of the Muslim era. Before the Arab invasion, Agham Lohana was the Governor of Brahmanabad,[6] and ruled over the country of Lohanas, Lakhis and Samas.[7] That the Lohana Dynasty had ruled since long time is clear from the letter of Rai Chach who was his contemporary and had usurped the throne of Alore to which the Governors of Brahmanabad acknowledged supremacy. In his letter he refers to the old lineage of Agham Lohana's royalty.[8] Agham Lohana did not acknowledge the supremacy of king of Alore with the result that the war ensued in which the former took to flight and his son surrendered. Rai Chach then passed strict laws against the Lohanas depriving them of the rights of carrying sword and riding on horse with saddles Since then they ceased to be warriors and were lowered in political status.

The Lohanas according to their own tradition belong to Solar line and descend from Lava, the son of Ram. "Ram, Ram" is their common salutation as distinguished from "Jai Gopal" of the descendants of the Lunar race. The king Sahasi II who ruled over Sind before the Arab conquest was a Rajput clearly, for the king of Chitor was a relation of his[9] He belonged to the Solar race as did the princes of Mewar and other Rajput States It appears therefore that the Rajput rulers before the Arab conquest and the Lohanas both belonged to the Solar line.

An examination of the Lohana totems shows that they are common with those of Aroras and Khatris of the Punjab. Thus the Arora totems namely Suchdeo, Bajaj, Lund, Chutani, Kukreja, Chawla, Lumaria, Machharia, Makaria, Kasthuria, and many more are also found among the Lohanas. Arora or Rora as it is called both in Sind and the Punjab also forms an exogamous totem of the Lohanas in Sind. Like the Lohanas they claim to be Khatris and say that they were dispersed by Parasram[10] when they according to a Gujarati tradition founded Arorekot (Arore) whose ruins are near Rohir in Sind.[11] Now this Arorkot is Arore or Alore and the Aroras are called after the name of the ancient capital Arore. It appears from their dispersion that the Lohanas expanded beyond the frontiers of Sind as well as assimilated various immigrant elements of population from time to time.

Of the Bhaibands, the Bhatias (numbering 8,823 in 1931 including 4,696 males and 4,127 females) are next in importance to the Lohanas and claim to be Bhati Rajputs of Yadav stock. They are mainly found in Cutch, Kathiawar, and Bombay city and numbers of them are found in the Punjab and United Provinces. Their original habitat according to Enthoven appears to have been the Multan and Lahore districts.[12]

According to General Cunningham, Bhatia comes from Bhat, a warrior. They are also held by Wilford and Elliot to be so called either after Bhat, one of the sons of Shalivahan, or Bhupat, the grandson of Sani.[13] According to Todd, Yudhishtra and Baladev of the Lunar race retired by Multan across the Indus after the death of Krishna and the sons of Krishna who accompanied them eventually passed into Zabulisthan, founded Gazni and peopled these countries even upto Samarkhand. From there they were again driven back to the Indus either by the rise of Islam or by the Greek princes who then ruled all these countries. They then obtained possession of the Punjab and founded Salbhanpur but again being expelled they retired into the Indian desert and founded Jaisalmer in 1212 A.D., the present capital of the Bhatis, the lineal successors of Krishna.[14] According to Todd they were driven back to the South (of Sutlaj) in the 8th century, but according to the accounts of third expedition

(1004 A.D.) of Mahmud of Gazni there was still a small Bhatia Kingdom at Bhatia or Bhati or Bherah on the left bank of the Jhelum near the salt range.[15] "Probably they were driven into the desert and Sind by the later Mohammadan invasions and most of them seem to have settled in Cutch and Kathiawar since the establishment of the Jadeja power (Circa 1350 A.D.)"[16] The account prepared by the Bhatias themselves traces their movement from Indraprastha, through Surapura, Muttra, Prayaga, Dwarca, Iudodang, Bahera, Gajni to Salpura in the Punjab, and eventually to Jaisalmer, where they were almost exterminated by the Musalmans in 1295 A.D.[17]

Another trading caste is the Sahta, which claims Rajput origin. This caste also eked out its existence in Sind by trade necessities and had therefore to undergo all kinds of persecution by the Muslims. "This caste is interesting on account of the possibility of its being a remnant of the Sahta sept of the Sama tribe (q.v.) which has resisted conversion to the Musalman faith. The Sahtas themselves, while claiming Rajput origin, are disposed to derive their names from the village of Sahiti in the Naushahro taluka, in which they were settled formerly, but this is not a probable explanation."[18] They numbered 3,410 in 1901 and almost all were distributed in the Karachi district; but it is not unlikely that many of them described themselves and were enumerated as Rajputs. Their customs are similar to those of the Lohanas.

The last Vania sub-caste is the Khatri numbering 4,138 males and 3,198 females in 1901. It is an immigrant caste from Punjab, numbers of which were found in old Hala and a few other places. The meaning of the Word Kshatriya is usually said to be warrior and is applied to the successors of the ruling families of the Indo-Aryans who had secured their settlement in the Gangetic lands and also to the warrior classes of the indigenous people who had been able to maintain their independence against the foreign invaders. There are three great Kshatriya lines Solar, Lunar and the Agniculas. Ayodhya is said to be their ancient home from where they migrated to Delhi and then to Punjab. In Sind they came from Multan to escape taxes. Trade is their main occupation.

The Amils or originally the Government officers were a class created by the administrative incapacity of Muslim rulers. They are of either Khatri or Lohana caste and those who came from the Punjab belonged to Sikh religion. They came either through Jaisalmer or Jodhpur driven by wars, or by Multan Road by commercial necessities, and belonged to four villages and nine clans which emigrated from the Punjab. The term 'Amil' applied to this caste has its origin in the Persian word 'Amal' (to administer). Early in the 15th century when Ahmedshah I conquered India, he wished to improve the dominions by appointing Amils as subdivisional revenue officers for the purpose and since then Sind has retained the name 'Amil.'[19] They filled many appointments including some of the most important appointments in the Civil service under the Kalhora and Talpur rulers. "The adoption of this profession, though it exposed them to many insults and humiliations, quickly conferred on the families concerned a superior status, which they signified by differences in dress and which their descendants have never lost."[20] An examination of their totems shows that they are recruited from the Lohanas and Khatris, who gradually set up an hierarchy of Government servants. Soon service became their hereditary occupation which distinguished them from the Lohanas; marriage came to be restricted among themselves, and though not strictly an endogamous caste as it continued to receive accretions from the Lohanas, it acquired the rigidity of caste. The process of acquisition of membership by selection has not ceased among them and the caste is being swelled from time to time from among the Lohana families. They form an aristocratic and influential class of the Sind Hindus and through imitation, strive for rapid progress and acquire new fashions and modes of behaviour, which are diffused among the Sindhis in general.

The Sarswat Brahmins numbering 3,999 males and 3,027 females in 1921 were found throughout Sind though they were mainly distributed in Shikarpur, Sukkur and Hyderabad. They are descended from one of the five of Gauda families of Brahmins and possess three endogamous divisions namely Barhi with 12 subdivisions, Bavanjahi with 52 subdivisions, and one other, and with the exception of a few families, the first two divisions have now intermarried. Barring a few persons who have entered

Government service. Sarswats are the spiritual guides of the Lohanas, at whose ceremonies they officiate. There is intimate connection between the Lohanas and the Sarswats and unlike other Brahmins they accept food cooked by a Lohana or Khatri and follow many Lohana customs and enjoy meat and drink. They are socially backward, illiterate and poor. "The Sind Brahmin is by no means an orthodox specimen of his far-famed class. His diet is most inaccurate. Although he avoids beef and fowls, he will eat fish, also flesh of wild birds and certain meats, such as venison, kid and mutton; he shrinks not from the type of creation, an onion, and he enjoys the forbidden luxury of strong waters."

The Pushkarnas supposed to have immigrated from upper India numbering 235 males and 230 females in 1911 are generally the priests of Bhatias. They as well as the Shirmali Brahmins of Sind are the sub-castes of the Gujar family, one of the five Dravida families of Brahmins They are chiefly confectioners and are employed as cooks by Brahmins and other vegetarian Hindus. Bhatias and in rare cases Lohanas employ Pushkarna Brahmins as their priests. A few of them are astrologers and traders. They marry from their own caste and "claim from their ecclesiastical brethren, the Sarswat, a superiority which the others admit by receiving the water of their hands." They are also Vallabhachari and speak Gujarati and Marwari and bear little affinity to Sind Hindus.

Connected with Brahmins, there are two other castes namely Jajik and Bhat who have assumed Brahmanic origin and officiate at Hindu ceremonies along with Brahmins They have their common communal organisation with the Brahmins and get their fees for attending at the rites in proportion with the Brahmins. Jajiks numbering 212 males and 232 females in 1901 were found all over Sind and being insignificant in number had a few families dispersed only in important towns or villages. They are a branch of Charans as is evident from their tradition and their hereditary profession. The term Charan is derived by some from 'Char' (to graze), as a large number of the tribe were originally graziers. According to others, it is derived from 'Char' (to spread), as the

Charans were bards and geneologists attached to Royal Courts and spread their fame by singing. The Charans in Sind existed in both these forms and it is in their latter profession that they were called Jajiks as distinguished from the Charans. Unlike the Brahmins they have neither Gotras nor Pravaras though some of them claim to possess Brahmanic gotras, and their exogamous divisions are totemic in origin. Though he assists the priests in the performance of sacred rites, yet the traces of his hereditary occupation are visible. He is generally found with the "surundo," "the instrument of his craft, a rude form of violin with four or five sheep-gut strings," resting on his lap. He sometimes does the begging business with his instrument which in remote times was played upon by his ancestors on the festive occasions of the Rajput Princes and on attending to the chiefs to battle.

Bhats, numbering 2,787 males and 2,129 females in 1931 are hereditary bards whose services consist in attending to marriage and other ceremonies, for which they receive customary fees. They claim Brahmanic origin in Sind and belong to one of those castes for which Hinduism has invented a hybrid origin. They are said to have sprung from a Kshatriya father and Vaishya mother. "In regard to the origin of the Bhats, the Brahma-Vaivarta asserts that they sprang from the intercourse either of Shudra father and Vaishya mother, or of a Kshatriya male and a Brahmin female."[21] According to Jativiveka they descend from a Vaishya father and Kshatriya mother, according to another account, they spring from the Creator's brain, and yet according to another, they are created from the sweat of Shiva's brow.[22] In Sind, they call themselves as Bhat Kaviraj assuming thereby to be descendants of Kavi, one of the three Rishis, Bhrigu, Angiran and Kavi who arose from the pit of sacrificial fire performed to Varuna by the gods Brahma and Indra. It is said that there are many Bhats in the Punjab who trace their pedigree like the Bhats of Sind to the sage Kavi, and are known as Kavivanshi Brahmans. They put the suffix Rao to their names. Their real origin however appears to be Brahmanic, the word Bhat being a regular corruption of the Sanskrit word Bhatta, which is a term of respect applied to none except the Brahmins.[23] In Sind, they call themselves Braham-Bhatts suggesting a Brahmanic origin and have Pravaras and Gotras like the Brahmins. According to

their own tradition also they claim to be Brahmins whom they accompany at marriage and other rites though they are looked upon by the latter as a degraded caste for not performing any priestly functions and for reciting some Kavita or Poetry. They sometimes enforce such payments by obstinate methods and some of them derive their livelihood by begging. "This degradation, however, appears to be due to the fact that as their calling of bards and eulogists compelled them always to associate with the Rajputs, whether in court or in battle, they gradually lost touch with their Brahmin community, seceded from the Brahmin standard of purity and adopted many Rajput customs."[24]

Sidhi Ali Kapudan, a Turkish traveller (A.D. 1533), speaks of the Bhats of Gujarat as "a tribe of Brahmins." Similarly the poet Chande (Sd. Chandra) who was the bard of well-known Rajput prince Prithviraj Chohan, was also the royal priest who could not have been other than a Brahmin. By tradition they were genealogists and bards of the Rajput princes and found employment in their courts. They used to extract their fees by self infliction of injuries, the disgrace and fear of which reduced the most obstinate to reason. Their woe was sufficient security
1 in any transaction and their threats to wound themselves while acting as treasure escorts were enough to scare any band of robbers.

Thakurs numbering 3,896 males and 2,421 females in 1931 were mainly found in Nasarpur, Sehwan, Ranipur and Shikarpur in Sind. They are also found in the Punjab, Kutch and Kathiawar. According to their tradition they belong to Arora caste. They form an exogamous caste as they possess only one Totem namely Tina, derived from one Tina Rao Arora from whom they claim descent. They have three sub-castes namely Somai, Budhai and the Ghorela, the last being recruited from the Lohana disciples and called *Ghorela* as they used to take reins of the horses from Thakurs. The Somai from Somo, the brother of Uderolal (River god) who according to Budhai version was a rich business man and would not like to ascend the seat of priestly order or accept the seven caste emblems. On his refusal the caste emblems were accepted by Pugar, cousin of Uderolal But his sub-caste is named after his son Budho from his second wife

whom he married by special permission of Uderolal as he had no issue to perpetuate the priestly succession. The son born was called Budho (old) as he was born in his old age. The Somai Thakurs were generally found in Nasarpur, Ranipur, Shikarpur and Karachi, while the Budhai sub-caste was distributed in Sehwan, Sukkur and Shikarpur in Sind. Pugar's descendant Masaralal had migrated to Alipur in the Punjab where he founded a famous seat of the priestly order. His brother named Jugal Bihari went to Multan and if we assume that a branch of the Budhai migrated to Cutch, they must be either the descendants of Morandrai 6th in descent from Budha or through Vishindas of 12th generation as the geneological lines of both are missing; but the latter probably is supposed to have gone to Sukkur.

The priestly caste of Shaktas or worshippers of the mother-goddess is called the Gur whose followers are generally the Sonara and Wanhan, though they may be found in other castes too. They numbered 815 males and 418 females in 1901 and were distributed in Hyderabad and Tharparkar districts though their small numbers were found in other parts of Sind whereever the Sonara and the Wanhan were in sufficient numbers. They are Sonaras in origin as inquiries reveal. As some members of this caste took to temple-keeping and assumed the religious functions of the worshippers of mother-goddess, they by lapse of time acquired caste rigidities and became a hereditary caste. It is the priestly caste of all followers of the mother-goddess in all castes though they contract marriages mostly from among the Sonara caste. They are religious preceptors of the Sonara and the Wanhan at whose important rituals they officiate. The important rites on which the Gur officiates are sacred thread ceremonies and the rite of granting permission for the newly born child to suck its mother.

By far the most important religious castes come from the Nanikshahi faith which is followed by bulk of the Lohanas. There are not many ceremonies at which the members of the priestly castes of Nanik-Panth officiate. They are appointed as religious preceptors of their followers and attend to the rites recognised by this faith, though for important Hindu rites they

themselves employ Brahmin priests. The most important caste amongst them from point of numerical strength is the Bhai whose members are called Jagiasi as distinguished from Udasi, as they marry and live a family life. They were distributed throughout Sind almost everywhere, even in the smallest villages, where no Brahmins were available. Every village had a temple of this faith as the number of Brahmins in Sind was very small; and as this caste is not limited to hereditary members, any member of the Lohana caste could set up a temple called Tikano or Darbar. He attends the temple wherein is kept the Adi Grant, the sacred book of this panth, sometimes together with Shrimad Bhagwat or other Hindu shastras. "He prepares the sacred cake called the "Kanah Saheb" which must be revered by Nanikshahis, who will pay, to have it made for them, in times of trouble or difficulty." It is not an endogamous caste and being flexible in nature the number of its members varies from time to time. Like other priestly castes it is of secondary importance and recognises the superiority of the Brahmins. Such members of this caste as do not marry are called Udasi who numbered 1,152 males and 380 females in 1901 and were distributed throughout Sind. Priests of the most important temples of Sind were Udasis and as they do not marry, their seats were perpetuated by their disciples by selection.

The Masand and Gurpota are other hereditary religious castes who claim descent from the ten original gurus. Their number in Sind was almost negligible. The Masand numbering 159 males and 119 females in 1901 were mostly found in Sukkur, Hyderabad and Karachi Districts. They were a body of Sikh devotees who were employed as collectors of religious offerings for the gurus untill their exactions led to their extermination, though some scattered families still survive" The Gurpota numbered 203 males and 118 females in 1901 and were distributed throughout Sind. They are religious preceptors of Bhais of the same sect, and like other sectarian castes, they officiate at rites and ceremonies of their disciples and recognise the superiority of Brahmins.

Sonaras or gold and silver smiths, numbering 3,519 males and 2,909 females in 1931 were found in all towns and big vil-

lages of Sind. They belonged to one of three geographical, endogamous divisions, Sindhi, Marwari and Kachhi. Of them, we are concerned here with Sindhis proper. They are an occupational caste and their membership is based on heredity and is not acquirable from various sources. Their origin is obscure. They call themselves Mai-pota or sons of the mother-goddess, and claim descent from her. Their tradition of origin is similar to the one given in a Gujarat legend according to which Durga Devi once "fought with a demon whose whole body was of gold. Failing to overcome him, she made an effigy of a human being out of the dirt of her body, breathed life into it and so made of it a goldsmith whom she bade kill the demon. He polished one of the demon's nails with a file and it shone so that the demon was delighted and asked the goldsmith to polish his whole body."[26] This required heating of the whole body in fire to which the demon agreed and lied down placing his joints on the lumps of lead placed on the heap of firewood. On setting fire, the lead affected his joints as it is the property of lead to eat away gold when placed in the fire. Thus the demon was killed, and the goddess was so pleased that ever since the name of Mai-pota (the son of the goddess) has been applied to the goldsmith.[27] From their black complexion and nature of occupation, they have been assigned an inferior origin but they do not differ in physique from members of other castes. The Sonaras of the adjoining countries of Cutch and Kathiawar of whom there are many later immigrants into Sind are supposed to come from the Patni branch of Rajputs and it may be possible that Sindhi Sonaras may also have similar origin.

Wanhan, numbering 1,085 males and 911 females in 1891 were found only in the important towns of Sind and were mostly enumerated in Karachi and Hyderabad districts. Like Sonaras they also form an occupational caste of gram-parchers and are followers of the mother-goddess. They bear marked religious affinity with Sonaras and by professional degradation seem to have been considered socially inferior.

There are some minor castes which have less social affinity with the Sindhis. One of them is the Labana, members of which are followers of Guru Nanak. They had given up entirely the occupation of trade and settled near the banks of the Indus

where they led a sort of semi-savage life, and engaged themselves in hunting and making ropes and mats. The Hindus had no free social intercourse with them and even did not associate with them for fear of Mohammedans who objected to their eating wild pig Then there are Sanjogis. During the Muslim period many Hindu families were converted to Islam, but as the religious sentiment loses its hold after long duration, several families continued to observe the Hindu customs. They celebrate the Hindu festivals and worship Hindu gods and the sacred cow. They adopt the Hindu names, but as the orthodox Hindus would not admit them into their fold they formed separate endogamous groups under the name of Sanjogi. Those who had been totally converted to Mohammedanism by changing all customs and reading the holy Kuran were now called Shaikhs. The process of conversion was stopped by the Arya Samaj movement when many of the Sanjogis were readmitted to Hinduism. In Larkana, the Sanjogis who were refused admission by the Bhaiband were included among the Amil caste. Then there are occupational groups such as the Bhansali, the Thathara, the Patoli and the Bagai. They are in fact in the nature of trade unions rather than castes or caste-groups though the last one is beginning to assume the character of caste. The Bhansalis numbering 767 males and 685 females in 1931 were mostly in Karachi and Hyderabad districts. The name Bhansali or Bhansari is said to be derived from a mythical king Bhansal, but a more favourable derivation is from Bhanu the Sun, Bhansalis claiming to have been formerly Solankis of the Solar race Outside Sind they have several exogamous divisions, but among Sindhis, they are Lohana Bhaibands. The Bhansalis of Cutch and Kathiawar are said to have immigrated from Sind and on migration they seem to have developed the caste rigidity. They are a professional group who maintain shops of prepared and ready metal-pots. The Thatharas are those who prepare metal-pots sold by Bhansalis. They are metal-workers and their occupation is hereditary. Patolis also form an occupational group and deal in the business of silken thread. The Bagais are a class of gardeners.

It will thus appear that before the Arab conquest, Sind was not only governed by a Rajput dynasty from Multan to the sea, but

was also largely peopled by the Rajputs. The Jats were converted to Mohammedanism, while among the Rajputs, the Samas and some other tribes accepted the religion of the conquerors. Many of the Rajputs who form the present Sindhi castes including the Lohana and the Bhatia contrived to evade conversion, though some members of them sought refuge in the adjoining states of Kutch, Rajasthan and the Punjab. The People of the adjoining states who bear close ethnic affinity to the Sindhis received them, as well as sent some of their members from time to time who were assimilated and lost in the mass of the Sindhi population.

The caste among Sindhis though not rigid still possesses the essential features which are reflected in the constitution of membership, the nature of social intercourse between the various castes, their relative social position and privileges, distinctions and disabilities. Ordinarily, the membership is determined not by selection but by birth, though in some sectarian castes like Udasi and Bhai the membership is acquired by religious profession by members of the Lohana caste. Among some of the Amils, a sub-caste of Lohana, the process of acquisition of membership has not ceased. Thus amongst the Chandkai Amils of Larkana, members of Nagrani and Balani surnames were included as they had taken to education and service. So also is the case of Sahiti Amils. The word Amil is getting increased significance as distinction between the advanced and the unadvanced classes of society rather than Amil and Bhaiband ; and this fact is clearly demonstrated from the inquiries about Larkana Amils where any member of Bhaiband community could apply to the headman (Mukhi) of Amil Panchayat for registration and on approval of the general body acquire the status of Amil. Marriage with poor Amil daughters also confirms the status acquired.

Desire for social equality has also been an important factor in the acquisition of membership of a different caste. The case of Lohana caste is very peculiar. Unless a person is a member of any of the non-Lohana castes, he must be assumed to be a Lohana, members of which caste form the general body of Sind Hindus. Matrimonial relations demand only a different totem and by lapse of a generation or two, the new totem comes to be included in this caste and it loses the memory of its pre-

vious descent. The Lohana origin is claimed for the new totem which is merged in the general body of Sind Hindus. By this process the people with different totems who migrated from Rajputana and the Punjab and professed Lohana occupations have acquired membership of the Lohana caste.

Before the modern ideas of social status affected the scale of precedence and changed the criterion of gradation from birth to wealth, occupation and living, the Hindu society was found divided in strictly graded castes. As in other provinces, the Brahmin was the head of the hierarchy, after whom stood the remaining priestly castes which recognised the supremacy of the Brahmin but often did not acknowledge their relative position. After priestly castes followed the Lohana and other trading castes, the Amil standing at the top of the scale as it was the ruling caste. Then followed the other trading castes namely the Bhatia, the Sahita and the Khatri in order. This classification is however not acknowledged by all these castes, and all of them except the Amils would like to be placed in the same class. Bhatias claim to be of purer Rajput stock of Vaishnav religion and consider themselves more superior to Lohanas and the Amils. Many of them even now do not take food at the hands of Lohanas and their Brahmin priests are Pushkarnas who unlike the Sarswats do not accept pakka food at the hands of Lohanas. Then come the Jajiks and Bhats in order in the scale of Hindu society. They do not find place within the priestly castes as they are considered mere religious attendants. They however do not accept this social position as they claim Brahmanic origin and always class themselves with the Brahmins. On the other hand they are considered socially superior to the occupational castes the Sonara and Wanhan, which are considered inferior in social status though the latter would hardly assign them a position superior to themselves. They are graded as Gur, the religious preceptor of the artisan castes, the Sonara and the Wanhan All these three castes are placed lowest in the social scale, but this gradation was however not ungrudgingly accepted and each caste falling between the Brahmin at the top and the Sonaras and Wanhan at the bottom professed a superior social position than the rest.

But with the change in the concept of social status brought about by modern ideas of society, the gradation has radically

altered among the Sindhis. The Lohana caste being a predominant one both economically and numerically is considered to be superior to all castes except the Amil. Most of the Lohana sub-castes are priestly all of whom are numerically insignificant. They including the Brahmins are considered socially and educationally unprogressive specially those who cling to their old professions. The artisan castes still stand at the bottom of the social scale, but even in such gradation the intermediate castes " would consider themselves to be better than their neighbours."

However social intercourse between the various castes is free and there is no restriction on feeding between them. Even the Sarswats take both kacha and pakka food at the hands of any Sind Hindu. Both kacha and pakka foods are unknown among Sindhis. Some orthodox Vaishnav Bhatias however would not take except at the hands of Brahmins. There is no pollution among Sindhis though it extends in mild form to menials such as Bhangis on account of their impurities. It was only the impure castes that were segregated and made to live on the outskirts of villages, and yet they were never disallowed to walk in the village streets or enter the private houses at any time of the day.

Marriage is generally contracted within the caste group. The following castes are strictly endogamous namely, Brahmin, Jajik, Bhatia, Sonara and the Wanhan. The rule has been relaxed in the case of other castes. The Bhatias ordinarily form the endogamous group, but the scarcity of women has compelled them to marry from the Lohanas though this action has been formally penalised by imposition of a nominal fine. The Amils take girls from the Bhaibands on money consideration and the trading castes commonly intermarry as if there were no restrictions on marriage. They also intermarry with priestly castes. Except in a few specified Brahmanic and artisan castes, the principle of endogamy does not operate strictly in many of the Sindhi castes. The marriage feast of a caste is enjoyed by members of all the castes and the rules framed by the village panchayats in Sind were applicable to all the castes in general except to Brahmins, Bhatias, Jajiks and Bhats.

The Hindu religion has many forms, and different castes follow different cults of religion. They belong to one or the other sect. The chief religious cults are Vaishnavism, Shaivism, River-cult and Nanik Shahi faith. They must belong to one or the other cult though as Hindus they revere all the cult-deities. Thus all Pushkaranas and a few Sarswats, all Bhatias, some Khatris and a few Lohanas belong to the Vallabhachari sect of Vaishnavism. Again the exclusive worship of Shiva is confined to Sarswat Brahmins from amongst the Sind Hindu castes who worship him in the form of Linga, upon which his votaries pour water and lay offerings. The Shaktas or worshippers of the consort, or female energy of Shiva, comprise Bhats, Gurs, Sonaras and the Wanhan. Kali-Mata, Sitla-Mata and Bhavani Devi are some of the common forms in which the mother-goddess is worshipped by them. Then there is the river-cult. All Thakurs and all Lohanas before the rise of Nanikshahi panth were followers of this cult. The mass of the Hindu population is composed of Lohanas and now bulk of them call themselves Nanikshahi though many of them are Darya-panthis still. Amils are generally followers of Nanikshahi faith.

There are no serious religious differences among the various Sindhi castes. In fact there is very little religion among Sindhis that would be taken as Hinduism in the rest of India. Thus the religion of Guru Nanak is wholly incompatible with Hiduism as it denounced idolatry and caste distinctions, yet the prevailing religion of the Lohanas is a blend of the two faiths They are not staunch followers like the Sikhs in the Punjab. They also worship Shiva, river and the mother-goddess. Thakurs are worshippers of Water, but many of them are worshippers of Shiva and mother-goddess as well. In spite of these religious differences, members of all castes acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmin who officiates at the important rituals of their life.

Thus the caste among Sindhis is highly flexible. Occupation has almost ceased to be a feature of the caste-system. There are no hostile sects among them and the religion followed by each caste is a blend of all faiths. Pollution and untouchability are almost absent, and interdining among all the castes is common. Surrounded by Muslims in Sind, the various castes lived an

interdependent life and the instinct of self-preservation and sense of social solidarity removed most of the dogmatic distinctions among them. Modern movements of Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj, the liberal education and the urbanisation of people had a profound influence on the social set up of the people, but nevertheless the differences in cultural status of the people have kept alive the caste consciousness specially among the Amil and Lohana Bhaiband ; and there is no indication that the caste prejudices have disappeared as a result of migration from Sind. The tendency on the part of the people in the various townships and colonies which they have set up in India is to regroup themselves with a regional background, which they possessed in Sind irrespective of considerations of caste.

The nature of distribution of members of the various castes had far-reaching influence on the organisation of castes and village communities in Sind. As mass of the people consisted of Lohanas, the villages had but one caste only, the remaining castes being distributed in towns. The priestly castes being numerically insignificant were distributed in towns. Thus the Brahmins were found in all towns with their strongholds at Shikarpur and Hyderabad, the Bhatias were mainly distributed in Karachi, Tatta, Shikarpur, Larkana, Hyderabad, Rohri, Sukkur, Ranipur, Jacobabad, and Nasarpur towns, though they were partly found in Naushahro, Tando Bago, Shahadadpur, Tando Allahyar, Amarkot, and Kandiaro Talukas. The Thakur caste was mainly distributed in Sehwan, Nasarpur, Ranipur, and Shikarpur towns in large numbers, though a few families could be found settled in many of the towns of villages of Sind. The Sonaras were mainly found in all district towns, and Kotri, Thatta, Sehwan, Dero Mohabat, Hala, Shahadadpur, Kambar, Rohri, Khipro, Amarkot, and Tando-Bago Talukas and the Khairpur State. The Amils were distributed in Hyderabad, Larkana (as principal centre of Chandkai Amils), Sahiti, principally in Tharushah, Khairpur Mirs, Rohri, Sehwan and old Sukkur, while several families led by their occupation had also settled in Sukkur, Jacobabad and other places. The Sahtas were found in the city of Karachi and the remaining castes being almost negligible in number had their families scattered in various places of Sind.

Thus the Lohanas formed most of the village communities, while the remaining castes except the Brahmanic priestly castes and Amils, formed joint communities with the Lohanas wherever their numbers were not sufficient. The Brahmanic priestly castes if numerically weak were governed for their caste matters by regulations of their territorial organisations, the Brahmin, Jajik and the Bhat often having one organisation called "Mastan." The Lohana priestly castes had usually no separate caste councils and were merged in the general Lohana communities Whenever there was a sufficient number of families of any caste, it had its own separate caste council. Thus the Bhatias and Sonaras had their separate panchayats in all towns while in the case of latter they were sometimes amalgamated with the Lohana communities *in villages. In villages where there were only a few families of* castes other than the Lohana, the entire needs of the village were usually looked after by the Bhaiband or Lohana panchayats for virtually their caste formed the entire village community.

Each community is governed by its headman (Mukhi) responsible to the general body (Dal) of the community. He is the executive head and his office is no longer hereditary as he is now periodically elected and is assisted by a committee of representatives. In Sind villages when the office was hereditary, the ceremony of succession was usually performed on the third day of his death or a special time was fixed for the purpose when the headman selected wore the Panchayati Pagri or head dress. It was placed on his head by a Brahmin or Bawa or even an old man was asked to do it. Victuals were afterwards distributed among the members of the community. The communities have now adopted modern forms of constitution under which they may elect only a council of elders. The elders may again elect a president from among themselves. In all such cases, the Mukhi may be appointed for a fixed term of one or three years.

The powers and duties of Mukhi as the president are usually undefined and therefore the authority wielded by him usually depends upon his personal influence. In small villages of Sind all the executive powers were vested in him, and it was only on important matters that he summoned a meeting of the general body. He is assisted by a secretary (Tahlyo) who maintains ac-

counts and may be remunerated if he is a full time servant. The Mukhi is a constitutional head as the matters relating to excommunication, taxation or variation of any custom relating to birth, marriage and death are always referred to the general body.

The functions of Hindu village communities in Sind were mainly social and religious, and customs relating to birth, tonsure, sacred thread ceremony, marriage and death were regulated by the panchayats. They fixed the dowry or scales of payment to various kinsfolk on the occasions of sacred rites, marriage and festivals. The panchayat modifies, amends, abolishes old customs or introduces new ones regarding birth, tonsure, marriage, death, charity and small-pox.

The religious functions of a village community included the maintenance of cremation ground, or even supply of cloths for coffin, it maintained the temple, a well or Dharmasal, but the most important religious activity of the panchayat was the institution of Sadavrit or alms to religious mendicants. It supported priestly castes by fixed payments at each marriage, celebrated Akhand Path or recitation of the sacred texts, and looked after general needs of the community including appointment of a watchman or maintenance of school. It also settled the village disputes and acted as a censor of morals over its members. Gambling, drinking and some times even grave cases of moral indecency were the matters in which the panchayat could interfere and put its moral pressure or even apply social sanctions to secure the moral position of the community in general. It regulated the use of drink and eating of flesh on marriage or sacred occasions.

The sources of income of the village communities were generally, *gandho* or a lump sum levy on marriage from both the parties, small levies from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 or even more on performance of sacred thread ceremony, levies fixed on birth, tonsure ceremony, betrothal, etc., fines recovered from members of the community, *painchano* (or subscription of membership) which at several places was imposed on local imports in proportion to octroi tax, commission (as in Khairpur State) or brokerage in the local markets which was monopolised by the panchayat and annually auctioned, and contributions in times of calamities.

The usual heads of expenditure were, remuneration of the secretary, *sadavrit* or almas to religious mendicants, donations to religious orders or temples of repute, monthly or fixed payments to Brahmins, temples or other religious institutions, celebrations of religious festivals or other occasions, repairs of panchayat-khana, crematory, temple or other property of the panchayat, contributions to social or educational institutions and in calamities such as floods, epidemics, village defence or government demands.

The re-formation of communities in India is characterised by caste or regionalism where members of any particular caste or region are found in sufficient numbers. Generally, however the membership is open to all Sindhis irrespective of caste or religion. Their main functions relate to celebration of marriage and performance of funeral rites The functions remain undefined and may include problems of rehabilitation. The re-formation is still in the process and unless the smaller communities are wielded together in larger and larger groupings as to cover the various states of India wherever the Sindhis may be, their society cannot be woven into a fabric with uniform pattern of culture.

The Sindhi Hindu family is a survival of the ancient form of patriarchal system. It is a joint family in which the Hindu father can modify the personal conditions of any family member. He can give a wife to his son, give his daughter in marriage to any person, transfer his son to another family by adoption, manage the property, represent the family in suits or incur debts for family necessity. It includes all the members lineally descended from a common ancestor including their wives and unmarried daughters. It is a fluctuating body growing larger by births, marriages and adoption or diminished by deaths and similar process. It is managed by the father or eldest member of the family with his modified patria potestas.

The father or on his death the eldest son is the manager (*Karta*) of the family. He is the chief member of the family, the protector of its members, the guardian of its infants and the representative spokesman of the whole family. He represents the family in the clan, panchayat or the village community. He is

counts and may be remunerated if he is a full time servant. The Mukhi is a constitutional head as the matters relating to excommunication, taxation or variation of any custom relating to birth, marriage and death are always referred to the general body.

The functions of Hindu village communities in Sind were mainly social and religious, and customs relating to birth, tonsure, sacred thread ceremony, marriage and death were regulated by the panchayats. They fixed the dowry or scales of payment to various kinsfolk on the occasions of sacred rites, marriage and festivals. The panchayat modifies, amends, abolishes old customs or introduces new ones regarding birth, tonsure, marriage, death, charity and small-pox.

The religious functions of a village community included the maintenance of cremation ground, or even supply of cloths for coffin, it maintained the temple, a well or Dharmasal, but the most important religious activity of the panchayat was the institution of Saḍavrit or alms to religious mendicants. It supported priestly castes by fixed payments at each marriage, celebrated Akhand Path or recitation of the sacred texts, and looked after general needs of the community including appointment of a watchman or maintenance of school. It also settled the village disputes and acted as a censor of morals over its members. Gambling, drinking and some times even grave cases of moral indecency were the matters in which the panchayat could interfere and put its moral pressure or even apply social sanctions to secure the moral position of the community in general. It regulated the use of drink and eating of flesh on marriage or sacred occasions.

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responsible for proper discharge of ceremonial obligations and duties towards his kinsfolk. In internal matters, he controls the income and expenditure of the family, controls the joint family business and is the custodian of the surplus if any.

As shown elsewhere the joint family was split up in India soon after migration on account of difficulties of accommodation and grant of rehabilitation benefits on basis of families. In Ulhasnagar there are about twenty thousand families of which only seven thousand are claimants for the property left or abandoned in Pakistan. As few people in Sind were without their own houses, this large number of non-claimant families has been accounted for the break up of the joint family system. The D.P. Census, October, 1948, disclosed a very small size of the Sindhi families as would be apparent from the figures given below relating to areas in which the Sindhis had mainly concentrated.

Sl. No.	Provinces/ States	Total population of displaced persons	Number of families	Number of Sindhi families	Average family size	Family size of maximum occurrence
1.	Ajmer-Merwara	92,799	19,440	17,889	4.8	4
2.	Baroda State	21,138	3,886	3,774	5.5	4
3.	Bikaner State	76,515	15,598	2,301	4.9	4
4.	Bombay ...	2,64,023	52,706	46,342	5.0	4
5.	C.P. and Berar	91,507	18,113	13,014	5.1	4
6.	Himachal Pradesh ...	5,224	1,103	4	4.8	4
7.	Jaipur State	51,795	9,390	7,200	5.5	4
8.	Jaisalmer State	1,646	319	86	5.2	4
9.	Jodhpur State	45,060	8,139	7,829	5.5	4
10.	Madhyabharat Union ...	59,333	11,536	7,240	5.1	4
11.	Matsya Union	53,034	12,041	1,755	4.4	4
12.	Rajasthan Union ...	32,544	6,079	4,407	5.3	4
13.	Saurashtra Union ...	35,891	7,063	7,028	5.1	4
14.	Vindhya Pradesh ...	12,045	2,547	2,227	5.1	4

Though the average size of the families is about 5 members, a large number of families consist of 6 or 7 members; and in case of Bombay the size in more than two thousand families is 9 members, but again in more than four thousand families the family consists of only one member. A look at the table III of Appendix B will show that quite a large number of families consist of one to three members.

In normal course the father is responsible for the household discipline. The wife or daughter-in-law does not take food before he has taken, except in progressive societies. He determines the nature of education and occupation of his sons. Even the degree of consent exercised by the dependents in matters of selection of a sexual partner is limited and the marriage contracts are brought about by him except among some people of Upper Sind where mother exercises greater authority in domestic affairs. In societies where marriage by purchase of girls exists, he may dispose of his daughter for consideration. Such cases are however rare. Where all the male members of family are engaged in a single family business, the degree of authority exercised by father over his sons is very great. The first in the system of marital rites is the rite of appointment of father, grandfather, mother and grandmother; and if he be dead or absent, somebody must be appointed to officiate as father or grandfather at the sacred rites. He has special claims to dowry and when he dies, sweets or victuals are distributed among the people in higher societies, as a mark of respect. The authority exercised by the patriarch much depends upon his personal nature. Poverty and lack of education as much as the growth of liberal education and individualism have greatly weakened his potestas and hastened the decline of paternal power. The economic independence of the modern youth has led to decline in the paternal authority and weakened the integrity of joint family The senior members of family are given reasonable voice in the administration of domestic affairs and if the father is old or invalid, his sons enjoy a comparatively higher degree of freedom.

On death of the father, the patriarchal powers devolve upon his eldest son. He is the main corpse-bearer who performs

the sacred funeral rites of his father and carries the bones of the deceased to Hardwar for throwing them into the Ganges. He wears the head-dress (pagri) of his father during the performance of succession rites in the presence of panchayat. Seniority and old age give a certain amount of power over the youngsters 'till the grey head becomes an encumbrance to those around him.' The minors are subject to disciplinary action by the elders, which may include slight forms of punishment. The eldest brother is appointed father or grandfather at the sacred rites unless preference has been given to an old man of the clan. Any decline in the outward forms of social prestige or in maintaining the standard of the family, is calculated to bring disrepute to him.

A virgin or unmarried daughter is addressed as goddess ('Niani' or Devi) and is considered equal to one hundred Brahmins. In a community where Brahmins are in insignificant numbers, they are substituted in several rites by virgins. She is identified with sacred energy (shakti) as she symbolises chastity which is potent with enormous powers. If a sacred triple cord of a person is cut, it can be tied by a virgin. So also she ties and unties the corners of garments of the wedded couple specially during the post-marital rites. A marriage with a widow is never performed under Brahmanical rites and only a virgin is called to tie corners of the couple's garments. She is called to accomplish the cradling ceremony and the highest form of charity is that given to a virgin. She is frequently fed by the neighbours on various festivals including the Shradh festivities. Coins and fruits are distributed frequently among the village girls when a person is ill and the last charities of a dying person include those made to his daughters and sisters. No fruit or vegetable of the season is eaten unless first offered to a virgin, whose feet are washed and homage paid whenever she is fed. The father or mother never takes water at her hands. She has the privilege of taking meals before any of the members of the household and this privilege is extended even to married daughters. With all this she does not attract as much love and care of family members as does the male child. She is not a permanent member of the patriarchal family and involves the parents in troubles of dowry and selection of her sexual partner. She is however an im-

portant asset to families in the lowest stratum of societies where marriage by purchase of girls is common. As she reaches the age of maturity her movements are restricted and she is not allowed to move outside the house or at least beyond the houses of her clan members except in forward classes. She enjoys greater degree of freedom among the Amils and educated classes. The degree of her consent in the selection of her partner varies in different societies and depends partially upon the form of marriage contracted.

An unmarried daughter is always a burden of anxiety to the father. In societies where marriages by purchase of girls or by exchange are common, not much care need be taken for her training in domestic affairs; but a girl of middle class or high class family which is affected by the institution of hypergamy, is to be properly trained or educated for selection. She knows the art of cooking, sewing or in villages embroidery too. A good middle class girl knows the art of knitting frocks, socks, teapoy covers and underwears. A skilful girl also knows the art of even preparing small carpets. Preparing tapes is common among the village girls. Among the educated societies where dowry system is in its full operation, she requires English education and music; and the art of painting and perhaps dancing too would satisfactorily qualify her for selection. An educated girl is however, greatly relieved of domestic duties. A married daughter loses the sense of ownership in her paternal family, but she now enjoys greater freedom than ever before. She enforces various dowry claims on her parental family and commands greater respect even from her brothers' wives. She now wears the finest dresses here, for she has preserved these for her parental home. As a bride she has now changed the gotra to that of her husband and entered into the potestas of her husband The virgin goddess has now been fettered to her lord with grave solemnities during the marital rites, and she shall be entitled to the entry to the highest heaven for she will die as "Suhagin" during the life time of her husband. She veils her face before her lord if she be a village girl and in the presence of family members if she married only a few months back. She takes no

food before her lord has eaten and keeps away from his presence for she is a modest bride.

The position of wife varies in different societies and depends upon the form of marriage in which it is performed. Where it takes the form of simple exchange, the position of wife is very happy. She gets good treatment from the husband and their mutual relations are usually happier than she would have found if the marriage had been contracted in the form of purchase. Though scarcity of girls in lower societies should in ordinary course confer a relatively superior position on the bride, her purchase has permanently removed the obligations of her husband towards her parental family. None-the-less her position is not unhappy though inferior. In the middle class families, the position of wife is fairly happy, but as the middle class people are most conservative, their relations and liberty of movement are strictly disciplined according to the old ideas held about the women generally. It is among the Amils and the educated classes as also among the Bhatias and the Lohanas of Shikarpur and Sukkur that the woman enjoys high degree of liberty or even high degree of authority in the settlement of domestic affairs. Proverbially she is said to have her wisdom located in her left heel and that too disappears after sun-set, but this idea no longer holds good specially among these societies. In some parts of Upper Sind she alone is some times competent to contract marital alliances for her daughters or sons and the father makes only a formal consent. Such authority is never exercised in the societies which have adopted the forms of marriage by purchase or exchange as the interests of the male will be seriously prejudiced. The modern movement for emancipation of woman and her claim for equality recognised by the modern romantic youth have considerably improved her position both in domestic and social life.

As a daughter-in-law her position is not very pleasant at all times in the families particularly with rural background. The integrity and peaceful life of the family may be disturbed by domestic quarrels. A frequent cause of domestic quarrels may be the dowry or the purchase price of the bridegroom with the consequent results on stability and duration of the marriage tie.

The domestic dispute may arise out of her failure in the proper discharge of her domestic functions. The bride who was brought to the family surrounded by a series of sacred rites to serve the father and the mother of her groom, has now by a lapse of few years begun to assert her independence. A slight mistake on her part or some damage caused by her by chance is sufficient to stir up the quarrel between herself and her mother-in-law. The disputes may go to the length of curses and unpleasant words for members of her parental family for the bridegroom is incapable of meeting the situation as he himself is in a precarious condition. The father and mother who gave birth to her, and sometimes her brothers too are the usual targets of the old woman's attack. What a defenceless wife can utmost do is to curse herself or the middleman who brought about the marriage contract. The poor groom may also share the rebukes as he has failed to improve his wife or sided her as to dispute the absolute authority of his mother or because he has shown some inclinations towards his wife's parental family. Unless the quarrel has ceased automatically the patriarch may interfere and stop it or in acute cases she may be sent to her paternal home for a change, unless her groom is economically independent as to have his way in the matter. In modern societies where marriage takes place after the groom has acquired economic independence and his occupation has compelled him to live a separate life, the occasions for quarrels have considerably diminished.

As mother, she is Shakti personified and the most sacred person in the whole family. Her whole life is occupied in the performance of sacred rites of her sons and daughters from the day of their birth to death. She is loved and not feared like the father and she is the protector of her children against the father. "When he is in health, she passes her time in kneading and straightening his limbs. If he is sick, she fasts and watches, and endures every self-imposed penance she can devise. She never speaks to him, without imploring the blessing of heaven upon his head; and this strong love loses naught when the child ceases to be a boy; it is the main spring of her conduct throughout her life. No wonder that in the East unaffectionate son is a phenomenon; and no wonder that this people, when rage makes

them offensive, always begin by fully abusing one another's mother."

As widow, her position is different in different societies. In the lowest classes who adopt the form of marriage by purchase of girls, the widow remarries immediately after her period of mourning (varand) which may be even two and a half months or still less. So also she marries in some societies which adopt the form of exchange or where marriage of widows exists as a custom. Therefore the question of widow's position arises mostly in the middle and the high class families. At the time of her husband's death she unties her hair, and her bangles are removed. A widow does not move outside her house till her husband's anniversary (varand) has expired and at some places wears a red petticoat with ground printed with black spots. She is not allowed to take part in any of the marriage ceremonies and if her husband dies in a young age she may be considered as an ignominous person. Her ambitions and pride being lost, she passes a life as an inferior member of the family except in advanced and liberal societies. She may pass much of her time in parental house. She is however entitled to maintenance with the same degree of comfort but cannot claim a partition, if she has no male issue.

Outside the family, the duties and privileges of kinsfolk are usually determined by the part they play in the important rites of an individual. The kinsmen may be related through father, mother, brother, sister, wife and blood descendants. Of the kinsfolk, the relatives recognised for purpose of attending on the occasions of marriage and death or birth and receiving dowry or ceremonial gifts are, father's maternal family, mother's parental family members, father's sister (married), sister, brother's daughter (married or betrothed), sister's daughter (married or betrothed) and female cousin (married or betrothed).

The relative position in which the various kinsfolk are regarded can be indicated by an old dowry table as fixed by the

Amil Panchayat of Larkana, though the scale prescribed is never followed.

	Kinship	Birth			Tonsure			Sacred thread			Marriage (Bhaiband		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Maternal family	5	0	0	34	0	0	34	0	0	—		
2.	Father's maternal family	0	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
3.	Mother's maternal family	0	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
4.	Father's sister (married)	2	0	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
5.	Mother's sister (married)	1	0	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
6.	Father's sister (betrothed)	0	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	12	0
7.	Mother's sister (betrothed)	—			—			—			—		
8.	Sister (married)	5	0	0	7	0	0	10	0	0	4	0	0
9.	Sister (betrothed) ...	1	0	0	3	8	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
10.	Sister's daughter (married)	2	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	12	0
11.	Sister's daughter (betrothed)	1	0	0	1	8	0	2	8	0	0	8	0
12.	Female cousin (married)	0	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	12	0
13.	Female cousin (betrothed)	0	4	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	0	8	0
14.	Brother's daughter(married)	—			3	0	0	5	0	0	1	8	0
15.	Brother's daughter (betrothed)...	—			1	8	0	2	8	0	0	12	0

In India the kinship bonds have largely disappeared by migration of families at long distances in various states.

The paternal kinship consists of usually patriarchal relatives from the same ancestor in which aliens are admitted by gradual acceptance. The clan (Bradri) is the smallest unit by which families are organised into social groupings for their cultural gratification. It being essentially a blood organisation, each caste comprises of a number of clans, which promote the common interests of the families The eldest member in the group of families is generally the headman of the clan who is consulted on all matters affecting the group. He is respected by all members of the group as a patriarch as he acts as their moral censor. He settles all disputes and administers the common ancestral property which may be an impartible estate, a common well or a common temple. In Sind he was elected as occupier of religious

seat (Gadesar) if there was a clan temple of a religious caste. All matters of importance are as a rule referred by him to all the clan members. Family is generally the unit for the purpose of gathering and at least one member of the family must attend the meeting for deciding the common issue and in some cases it may be the duty of all the male adults to attend. The decisions are normally taken unanimously without putting to vote; and in several cases the headman is simply authorised to deal with the matter. In contested matters, no action is usually taken if there is a division, and even one vote against the rest may upset the decision for it is a common practice to settle all matters unanimously. In a matter of party division, the clan may be equally divided and may bring a rupture dividing the clan into two permanent clans.

The matters affecting the clan generally relate to customs regarding birth, tonsure, sacred thread ceremony, betrothal, marriage and death. Any variance in customs, communal festivity or in the fixation of dowry status must be agreed upon by all members of the clan. Most of the village regulations were subject to local variations unless they were specifically made binding on the clans.

The groups of families retain the surnames after the name of some renowned ancestors and on being split up they adopt different surnames as to distinguish them from each other. Surnames as a rule are formed after the name of an ancestor but in several cases there are other modes of indicating the different groups of families. Sometimes caste-names indicate the common ancestry of members of those castes which are either numerically small or can be better distinguished by caste names rather than ancestral names. Thus caste names are used as surnames by Bhatias, Thakurs, Masands and Bhats. Many of them have begun to form new surnames after the names of their grandfather or great grandfathers, or some renowned ancestors. Again, the Sarswats and Bhats classify their families according to gotras, Bharadwaj being the common surname. Some castes specially the Lohana have their totemic surnames, and the fami-

lies well-known by *totemic divisions are as under in the various* castes.

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1. *Lohanas* :—

1. Kukreja
2. Nangdev
3. Chawla
4. Khathuria
5. Kathpal
6. Katarıa
7. Ahuja
8. Chhabria
9. Dhingra
10. Bathıja
11. Chugh
12. Chichria
13. Taneja
14. Lulla
15. Makhija
16. Suchdev
17. Tulreja
18. Wadhwa
19. Dodeja

2. *Bhatias* :—

1. Jawa
2. Gandhi
3. Chhachhra
4. Gajria
5. Udesi

3. *Sonaras* :—

1. Pohuja
2. Valechha
3. Dudia

The members of Lohana sub-castes sometimes adopt totemic surnames. This system of classification by an ancestral name is common among the Amils, and is gradually followed by members of all the castes in general. Lohana being the largest caste *numerically with a great number of totems has to follow this* form of classification as several of the totems are not convenient to name or classify the families. Totemic form of classification therefore is being gradually replaced by ancestral form of classification wherever convenient unless it has already gained superior status in the society.

The Amil surnames are divided into Hyderabadis and non-Hyderabadis, *but from this it by no means follows* that they have no blood connections between them. They came from either Punjab or Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) The Khudabadi and Hyderabadi Amils claim their origin from two distinct groups comprising of 4 and 9 families respectively that came from the Punjab. The four original groups which continue under original surnames are Vaswani, Idnani, Kriplani, and Mirchandani.

The other group consists of the 9 families indicated by surnames as Advani, Gidwani, Chandiramani, Malkani, Sipahimalani, Vadhwani, Punwani, Mansukhani and Shivdasani. Of them a number of surnames have been formed in the Advani branch where its descendants have from time to time distinguished their families by adopting new surnames after the name of grandfather or great grandfather. Thus the following surnames namely, Sitlani, Manshani, Kandharani, Chhablani, Bhavnani, Jagtiani, Gidwani and Ajwani are all branches of Advani which were formed after the name of their ancestor Adumal. Besides there are some families with different surnames, namely Jhangiani, Sadarangani, Shahani, Lalwani, Thadhani, and others.

Some of their brethren who continued in trade remained as Bhaibands as is clearly apparent from the various totems among Lohanas and Amils. The Hyderabadi Amils had their members outside Hyderabad namely, Mirchandani and Thadhani in Talti, Wadhwani and Ajwani in Khairpur, Malkani in Tharushah, Bhiria and Kandiaro, Shahani in Tharushah and Larkana, Sadarangani in Moro, Khubchandani in Bubak Taluka and Jhangiani in Naushahro, Bhiria and Navabshah district. Ultimately the regional distinctions between Amil as Hyderabadi and non-Hyderabadi transcended the blood relationship between them.

Of the other non-Hyderabadi Amils, the important surnames come from the Dariri totems, its members originally coming from Jaisalmer in Rajputana. The important surnames of this totem are Hingorani in Bhiria and Larkana, Takhtani and Ramchandani in Khairpur and Bhambhani in Pad-Idan. Then there are the Chandkais namely Dudani, Dadlani, Motwani, Israni, Panjwani (Larkana), Chhugani (Panjudero), Bijlani (Khairodero), Kaka (Validad), Motwani (Larkana), Sabhani, Rijhsinghani, Daryani, Shahani and Bhambhani (Larkana). Similarly there are Amil families known as Kewalramani, Manghirmalani, Mahtani, Lalwani (Uttamsinghani and Girdharmalani) in Hyderabad, Karnani, and Tahilramani and many more. All these surnames are formed after the ancestral names.

Thus we have seen that in most of the cases, the Amil surnames are formed after the names of distinguished ancestors and only in rare cases totemic names namely, Abuja, Makhija and Bathija distinguish the Amil clans. In some cases the families are distinguished by the names of villages from where they originally migrated. Thus Isranis and Dadlanis are said to have come from Elias and Dhamrah and are known as Eliasi and Dhamrai Such basis for distinction of family groups is however rare. Among Lohanas, however, surname classification of families on territorial basis is evident though totemic classification is more predominant. Lohanas in fact commonly combine all the three important basis of classification, namely, totemic, territorial and personal. In every town such distinctions are visible among the Lohana caste.

The non-Brahmin castes of Sind including the Lohanas have neither gotras nor pravars. The Brahmanic origin in Sind is claimed by Sarswats, Bhats and even the Jajiks who in fact are Rajput charans They claim to have gotra divisions which however are not exogamous. The Sarswats of Sind are either Barhi with twelve sub-divisions, or Bavanjahi with fifty-two subdivisions and others as in the Punjab. The Bhats have no totemic divisions and are therefore distinguished by regional classification as Desi or native of the soil, Pardesi or foreign, Sindhi and Thari and Marwari. Their number being very small, intermarriage between members of different divisions is over-looked.

Each caste has its totemic sections distinguished by different mythical origins, each totemic circle forming an exogamous division within which its members cannot marry. They are named after certain species of animals, birds, objects of the vegetable kingdom, inanimate objects or gods and semi-gods. The totemic divisions of the Sindhi castes are as under.

1. *Lohana*	*Name of Totem*	*Meaning*
	1. Ahuja	
	2. Chawla	Rice
	3. Chichria	
	4. Chhabra	A kind of weed
	5. Chugh	

1. *Lohana.*	*Name of Totem*	*Meaning*
	6. Dhingra	Mushrooms
	7. Bajaj	
	8. Bathija	
	9. Khathuria	Musk
	10. Dhamija	
	11. Joneja	
	12. Kukreja	Hen
	13. Lund	
	14. Lulla	
	15. Lota	Water pot
	16. Makhija	Honey
	17. Tulreja	
	18. Tuneja	
	19. Wadhwa	
	20. Sachdeo	
	21. Dhanija	
	22. Gera	Dive
	23. Nangdev	Serpent
	24. Asar-pota	
	25. Mamtora	
	26. Kataria	Dagger
	27. Ruprel	
	28. Rohra	
	29. Harchpal	
	30. Dusya	
	31. Dariri	
	32. Manchandia	
	33. Dodeja	Date
	34. Sonpar	
	35. Dhaneja	
	36. Nangpal	
	37. Motan Pota	
	38. Kailiri	
	39. Thath Thakur	
	40. Dahira	
	41. Bedija	
	42. Kariani	
	43. Hinduja	
	44. Lalanpota	
	45. Ram Rakhia	
	46. Chhapru	

The total number of Lohana totems is said to be 136. The number increased by assimilation of immigrant population specially the Aroras who had migrated to Punjab at the time of Arab invasion. The Lohana totems are in almost all the cases either animals, birds, or inanimate objects, most important being the Nagdev.

The Amil totems are mainly Linjhar, Dariri, Manchandia, Chichria, Pathan, Gera, Ramdev, Khathuria, Maghu Khitri, but as the caste is variable, it might include other totems common to the Lohanas like Ahuja, Makhija and Bathija.

The Bhatia caste has 84 sections called nukhs as elsewhere in the adjoining states a list whereof is given in the Appendix C. The divisions generally disclose an ancestral origin as a number of them seem to have been formed in Multan, Jaisalmer, Bahawalpur or other parts of Punjab.

The Jajiks who are originally charans (Rajputs) have by assimilation with Brahmins claimed divisions according to gotras. They are further divided on regional basis as Bakhru of Siro or Upper Sind including Rohri, Sukkur, Mirpur, Mathelo and Ranipur and Sehwani or Lari from Lower Sind. They claim to have three pravars and four brancres; and like the Brahmins they are divided as Barhi and Bavanjahi, the Jajiks of Lower Sind being Barhi, while Bakhru Jajiks having both Barhi and Bavanjahi (i.e. 12 and 52) subdivisions. The Sehwani Jajiks have five of their divisions become extinct. The Lari Jajiks have further totemic divisions as under :—

1. Aki—Gerelo.
2. Vasdevani—Larkana and Sukkur.
3. Mami Maindar—Thariri Mahabat.
4. Bajhija Pota—Khairpur Nathan Shah.
5. Maindar—Dadu.
6. Chand—Kakar.
7. Odharpota—Sehwan.
8. Diharpota—San (Kandiaro).
9. Sonepota—Thatto.

The Thakurs having only one totem Tina, called after the name of their ancestor Tina Rai forms an exogamous group. They are either Somai, Budhai or Ghorela and were regionally distinguished as Sehwani, Shikarpuri, Nasarpuri and Ranipurai.

The Thakurs of the desert area form a different people and possess a number of totemic divisions some of which are shown in the Appendix D.

The Sonaras of Sind were either Kachhi, Marwari or Sindhi, the last being divided in endogamous divisions as Suichar (from Nawabshah and Dadu to Rohri, both sides of the Indus), Janjagar (Hyderabad, Arazi and Bubak), Badriya (Moro, Daulatpur, Deparja and Gaghero), Dhatti (Lar or Lower Sind, Nawabshah, Shahadadpur etc.). In all they had once 72 nukhs or exogamous divisions as claimed by some of them, most of the totems having become extinct on account of difficulties of sexual selection and consequential reduction in their numbers. Some of the totems of their Suichar division are Pohuja, Valechha, Dudia, Dhera, Dhalanja, Rupraja, Singar, Congra and Murpana.

Marriage among Sindhis as elsewhere in India is a sacrament. It is a sacred duty to marry for securing spiritual benefit beyond death for if a male dies unmarried, his marriage is solemnised at the time of removing his corpse. Wrapped with a red (Khunhba) cloth instead of silken or ordinary cloth, as red (Khunhba) cloth is symbolic of marriage and is worn by the bridegroom during the marriage rites, the corpse is taken to crematory in procession accompanied by a native drummer (Langha) for a few paces who beats his drum to celebrate the marriage. The person is supposed to have "performed his marriage along with his death." No such marriage rites are however performed if the dead is a child and is buried in a grave yard. Though marriage is regarded as both a religious duty and an obligation, religious celibacy of males is still regarded as a moral virtue. The Udasis who constitute the only order of religious celibates amongst Sindhis abstain from marriage and perpetuate their religious seats by selection from among their disciples.

The frequency of marriage is largely determined by the extent of civil celibacy to which it is practised amongst the various castes. Celibacy among Sindhis is partly due to disproportion between the sexes in each caste and partly due to the institution of hypergamy which largely prevails among the Lohana, Amil and

Bhatia castes. Among all the Sindhi castes males outnumber females, the disproportion between the sexes in the Brahmin caste being specially alarming. Marriage by direct exchange is therefore in full operation among the Brahmins notwithstanding the fact that many of their members at lower social level are forced to remain celibates whenever they have no girls for giving in exchange. The problem before migration was equally serious for Jajiks and Bhats despite their disproportion not being as serious, for their members were sparsely and widely dispersed in the whole province. Amongst Lohanas in many villages their members were compelled to live celibate life owing to wide prevalence of hypergamy and scarcity of women. The males at lower social level found it very difficult and some times impossible to procure girls for marriage, though the difficulty of procuring girls was partly removed by taking to forms of marriage by exchange and purchase of girls from Punjab, U.P., Kutch, Rajasthan and even Bengal. While hypergamy has largely affected the marriage age among the middle and high class Lohanas, it has hardly produced celibacy among their females. On the other hand the Amil caste, more seriously affected by the institution of hypergamy, has compelled many of their female members marry at a very advanced age. Amongst the Bhatias, the problem is not as serious as the lower classes take to marriage by purchase with poor Lohana girls by paying a prescribed fine to their Sind Panchayat. As regards the other priestly castes, rules of endogamy do not exist among them as their members intermarry with each other as well as with the Lohanas. The artisan castes however feel the same difficulty in finding out matches, and the Wanhan being almost negligible numerically, there is so much celibacy among them that there is a possibility of their total extinction.

While celibacy may indicate the frequency of marriage, the latter largely depends upon the age when people generally marry It is a general rule that girls marry at an earlier age than boys. Before the passing of Child Marriage Restraint Act of India, betrothal of the unborn even war not unknown among the high classes of Lohanas in rural areas where civilization had not penetrated. Betrothal of girls amongst Sindhis was not uncommon at the age between 6 or 7 and 12, in the unprogressive hyper-

gamous societies ; and on the eve of the passing of the act, a good number of early marriages had taken place. "The immediate effect of the knowledge that the Sarda Act was passed was that quite a large number of marriages of persons of prohibited ages were hurriedly rushed through but after it was passed the people became used to it and took every thing more philosophically. The Intelligentia generally held the Act to be a measure of paramount social improvement."[28] Even after the passing of the Act, marriages within the prohibited age used to be celebrated outside the British Districts in Native States till such marriages were also banned by an amendment.

Though betrothal might take place at an early age, the marriage was celebrated comparatively at a higher age than in the Bombay Presidency. There was practically no early marriage among Sindhis and absolutely no child marriage.[29] The following table from Census Report of 1931 indicates the proportion of married females under 10 years to one thousand total married females.

Hyderabad District	27
Karachi District	13
Larkana District	43
Nawabshah District	35
Sukkur District	32
Thar and Parkar District	20
Upper Sind Frontier District	39
Khairpur State	46

The distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex in Sind at certain ages for Lohanas including the Amils which form the largest bulk of the population is as shown below.

Age Group	*Unmarried*		*Married*	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0—6	997	998	3	2
7—13	961	935	39	64
14—16	820	559	175	436
17—23	559	72	382	909
24—43	150	17	772	808
44 and over	56	4	662	499

None of the Sind castes examined showed the evil of child or early marriage in any acute form[30] The higher classes of people among the Lohanas and Bhatias try to bring marital alliances as early as possible to see their girls married before they reach the age of puberty or as soon as they cross the prohibited age. Among the remaining castes except the Amil and Thakur, where marriage by exchange or purchase of brides is not uncommon at the lower strata, people marry at a higher age. As early as 1901, the Sind Brahmins married their girls at an early age, but they had no objection of the more orthodox Brahmins of the Bombay Presidency to their daughters remaining unmarried if no husbands were found by the time they were fifteen[31] In the later age period, unmarried females were comparatively numerous among Sind Brahmins.[32] Those who adopted the forms of exchange or purchase solemnise the marriages soon after they are contracted lest the death of a party to marriage or some other cause may not have the effect of dissolving all other unions. Amongst some of the Amils, girls were usually married as early as possible after they reached the age of puberty. Unmarried girls of twenty years of age, before migration to India were uncommon and those of higher age were rare. On migration to India the Sindhis have almost lost their rural background, literacy and educational standard among them have risen, the society has lost social control over them and the amount of dowry besides being an economic deal, has begun to form a criterion for determining the social status. An important cause in the decline of marriage rate and rise of marriage age is the difficulty of supporting a family in the modern society with an increased standard of comfort. Increased scale of dowry has stimulated higher education of girls and boys and raised the marriage age amongst the advanced Sindhis. And by the general diffusion of education and culture "the tastes of men and women have become widened, their desires multiplied, new gratifications and pleasures have been supplied to them" And for several youths, "married life has lost in some measure its advantage over a single life. There are so many pleasures, now, that can be enjoyed as well or even better in celibacy." Marriage by consent of girls and boys amongst the educated classes is now common and consequently with diffusion of finer tastes and growth of vari-

ous standards of selection, they can less easily find any one whom they are willing to take as a partner for life. This coupled with the economic independence enjoyed by girls in the modern society partly determines the frequency of marriage and the age at which the alliances may be contracted.

The religious sentiment of marrying the girls before puberty and of preserving their virginity as a slightest scandal might bring a rupture in the marital connections, and the general rule among all castes that younger sons or daughters must not marry before the elder ones as long as there is a chance of the latter getting married, and social disapproval of widow marriage are other factors which determine the frequency of marriage and marriage age.

The caste endogamy exists among the Brahmin, Bhat, Jajik, Bhatia, Sonara, Wanhan and the Sahta castes. The Sahtas however take wives from but do not give their daughters to other castes.[33] The endogamous rules are however frequently transgressed by the people who resort to marriage by purchase of girls of other castes or where the girls are accepted as among the Amils from castes which stand lower in the social scale.

"When a caste is divided into sections of different status, there is a tendency whereby parents are obliged to marry their daughters into an equal or higher section, and if they fail to do so, they are themselves reduced to the status of the section in which their daughter marries."[34] Before migration to India such classification was based among the Lohanas on what was called as "Pahrani" which denotes that a particular family adopted a particular standard of dowry. A specific amount was prescribed by each village for single Pahrani and a family of the standard of 3 Pahranis paid by way of dowry thrice the amount fixed for one Pahrani. The society was divided in classes of 3, 5, 7 or double (i.e. 14) Pahranis and each section generally contracted marriages with a section of its own standard. The Sarswats and Bhatias had an equivalent of Pahrani called "Gah" (ornaments) and the number of ornaments given in dowry indicated the status of each family. The non-Hyderabadi Amils are classified according to Pahranis much in

the same manner as Bhaibands. The Lohanas' classification is adopted by all its sub-castes specially the priestly castes without exception and even the artisan castes have followed them.

The Amils again have further classification. The Amils of Hyderabad normally do not contract marriages with outside Amils except the Wadhwani and Ajwani families of Khairpur. There are also the differences between Hyderabadi and Khudabadi Amils. As the Amil caste did not grow up at one time, social differences have arisen among them; and the admission of new families to membership of the Amil caste of Nawab Shah and Larkana districts led to the creation of various strata of people from where marriage could not be contracted without losing the status. This position however is not expected to continue in this state of social mobility after the migration.

As regards the Sarswats, there were originally three endogamous divisions in Sind namely Barhi with 12 subdivisions, Bawanjahi with fifty-two subdivisions and others and those of the Barhi were considered as superior. Barhi would hardly give their daughters to the Bawanjahi, but now with the exception of a few families the first two divisions have intermarried. The Sarswats of Upper Sind are divided into Sarswats and Kherajani Sarswats, the latter being considered inferior and among those of Lower Sind, similar divisions are called Setpals and Sarswats, the former being able to marry with the Sarswats of Upper Sind and the latter with the Kherajanis. The Lohana sub-castes being socially graded try to give their daughters in marriage to members of a caste which stands higher in the social scale. Thus the Masands would accept girls from Bhais, but would not give their daughters to them. The Bhat and the Jajik have however no such classification. In most of such cases, the husband generally belongs to the higher sub-caste for to give a daughter to a member of the sub-caste which is considered socially inferior would bring degradation to the family.

The basis for such hypergamous classification in the different castes is the form in which marriage is contracted At the lower strata of the society, in recent times the marriage by exchange or consideration has replaced the simple form of marriage by gift;

and the status of families in each caste is determined by the form of marriage they are accustomed to contract. Once a family adopts a form of marriage by exchange, it is considered a family of the lower status, and the stamp of degradation continues till a few generations have passed and subsequent circumstances have revised the status of the family. The result of the whole system is that the wealthier sections untimately become unable to find matches for their own daughters, and the lower sections support marriages by heavy consideration to gain higher status. Consequently a growing scarcity of girls is felt among the lower classes who resort to marriage by exchange or purchase.

An important limitation on sexual selection which continues to persist among the Sindhis in India arises out of the differences between the village and town life which the members of various castes enjoyed in Sind. However there was no strict town endogamy except at Hyderabad. The town life being more comfortable and civilised, the inhabitants did not like to marry their daughters in villages. A resolution of the panchayats of 52 villages (passed on 1st Jeth 1986) would indicate the extent of limitation on selection of matches created by the difference between village and town life. It reads: "We the Panchayats of this Pargna (Social District—Nawab Shah) have resolved that no person shall contract marriage with a person of the towns of Halani, Bihlani, Kandiaro, Noshahro, Bhiria, Tharushah, Dabbro, Ranipur, Gambat, Khairpur and Lukman as the people of above towns feel it contemptuous to give their daughters to the people of villages." Sind is further traditionally divided in three parts namely Lar or the descending country from Hyderabad to the sea, Vicholo from Hyderabad to a point about half way between Larkana and Sehwan on the western bank of the Indus and Khairpur on the eastern bank, and finally Siro or country to the North of Vicholo. The cultural differences among the people of these regions were great as their habits, manners and customs, dress and even the dialects varied. These distinct regions determined the limits within which marriages were normally contracted.

Among Sindhis exogamy is generally totemic. There is no caste exogamy amongst them except the Thakurs, but that too because the caste is composed of only one totem namely Tina.

Totemic exogamy is observed amongst the Lohanas. Not only is a person prohibited from marrying in his or her paternal totemic division but also in that of the mother, though the marriages with members of the maternal totem are common. In advanced societies the restrictions of ancestral totem are ignored and the poorer classes who resort to marriage by exchange or consideration are unmindful of such prohibitions, and so do the Amils as they possess limited number of totemic divisions. Totemic exogamy has thus lost its force by frequent instances of transgression and growth of liberal ideas in the modern society. The Sarswat endogamous divisions are again split up in a number of divisions namely Barhi in twelve, Bawanjahi in fifty-two sub-divisions and so on. No member of a Barhi division will contract marriage within the same division of Barhi section as no member of Bawanjahi division will do so within his own. Thus a Sarswat of Gunraj division and Bhardwaj gotra may contract marriage with a person of a different division of the same gotra. The other castes have no gotras. But the Bhats who have no totemic divisions regulate such exogamous prohibitions on basis of gotras and forbid marriage alliances within the same gotra. Thus all the castes even including the artisan castes observe totemic exogamy except the Amil and Bhat, the former now having tendency to limit such exogamous prohibitions to common surnames and the latter observing gotra limitations. But in all such cases a person is not only forbidden to marry a woman of his clan, may it be distinguished by surname, totem or gotra, but must also refrain from marrying in the clan of his mother.

Despite great frequency of marriage by purchase among poor Sindhis, no person marries a maternal uncle's daughter or his wife's sister's daughter. In fact the fourth degree appears to be the utmost verge of a valid prohibition given effect to, in practice in any caste and there are a good many marriages within that limit. Marriages with members of maternal totem are common, and where marriage by gift or consideration exists, people not only allow a man to marry his deceased wife's younger sister, but even give him a prior claim to her hands. If the deceased wife has any sister, offer must be made specially if she has left a child behind her, but even if there be no sister, her parents in several places have a right to give a girl from

their family; and it is a moral obligation upon the husband to accept such girl. Again there is a common practice specially amongst the Lohanas of marrying two brothers with two sisters. In the low classes of society where widow marriage exists by custom or otherwise, many people marry the widow of his deceased brother's wife and instances are recorded of such marriages with the widow of even an elder brother. There are even prohibitions on the basis of spiritual relationship. They forbid a man to marry a woman for whom he had stood as father or mother at any ceremonial occasion. It is also awful and forbidden to marry a preceptor's daughter and it is this sentiment which has largely contributed to the formation of priestly castes as endogamous.

Besides the limitations on the choice of sexual partner, there are various factors which determine sexual selection. The first point considered is position and status of the family. In the organized society, a family of equal status was selected but the members of higher status in various castes specially the Lohana, Amil and Bhatia who found it difficult to select bridegrooms often gave their girls in families of economically poorer but of equally respectable status if they failed to support such alliances by consideration. The middle class people gave their daughters supported by money consideration to members of families of higher status. In ordinary course the family selected is one which belongs to the same status determined by the status norms for marriage. The norms for determining the family status were based on tradition according to which the position it enjoyed, the normal indice being the occupation it was leading. A bride not adhering to the prevalent norms of the new family was therefore considered as "Be Buniadi" or of no traditional status. The tradition was again determined by the position it enjoyed according to the status of the component families of its clan or the relationship it had gained with other families by way of marriage. After selection of the family (Ghar), the next in importance stands the selection of the party to marriage (Var). In the selection of girl, beauty, character, and ability to do household work, mode of walking, of talking and modesty are the virtues of a good girl, but domestic virtues such as knowledge and art of cooking, sewing, and doing household work are among

the necessary arts of a Sindhi bride, though the advanced classes of people attach more importance to her education than any of the domestic crafts. Female education among Sindhis is partly the result of high scale of dowry which it is calculated to diminish. The standards of selection were modified by the nearness or facility of communication between the respective villages to which the parties belonged.

The parental authority among the general masses still holds, and the contracts of marriage are planned and arranged though formal consent in some form has become almost common. In old societies consent may be out of modesty, for, a free denial reflects badly upon manners of the girl. The degree of consent in societies where marriage by exchange or purchase is common, is almost negligible, for in such cases, the contracts are planned and arranged by elders under extraneous limitations sometimes leading to undesirable marriages Marriage by exchange between three or more parties exists among Lohanas, Bhatias and others, and the degree of consent among them is therefore much less common than among the Brahmins, Jajiks and Bhats who resort to simple exchange. In simple exchange the adult parties exercise good influence in the family and their wishes are considered, but where exchange through three or more parties exists, the element of consent becomes almost eliminated owing to the difficulty of arranging three or even more different unions. Among Amils where instances of direct exchange have occurred with a view to counteract the evil effects of dowry system, consent of parties is often fully taken In cases where marriage by purchase is adopted, the liberty of party supported by consideration in selecting partner is very much limited. The authority of the clan and the panchayat has however almost disappeared after migration to India as the tradition has lost its authority of social control; and with downfall of the paternal power discretion in selection of matches in all progressive societies, has widened and the consent of parties is always deemed desirable in some or the other form. And among the most advanced societies mixing may be connived at to escape the evils of dowry, though courtship even among the most advanced Amils may appear in a veiled form Love marriages against paternal consent may occasionally result in elopements which however are

rare. The forms in which marriage is contracted vary largely in different castes. Among the Lohanas marriage by gift accompanied by exchange of presents existed only among the middle classes of society before migration to India, while among the higher classes the bride's family has to pay heavy bridegroom price. In the poor classes, marriage by exchange is common and a good number of marriages are concluded in that form. Some marriages by exchange may be partly accompanied by consideration also or they may be mixed as both marriage by purchase and exchange. Marriage by simple or direct exchange amongst them is rare, and the poorer people who have no girls to give in exchange generally resort to marriage by purchase. Among the Amils most of the marriages are performed by payment of bridegroom price or in rare cases by direct exchange to avoid payment of consideration. The case of Bhatias is almost similar to that of Lohanas, but as it is an endogamous caste, the payment of bride price amongst the lowest classes becomes necessary. The priestly and artisan castes namely Brahmins, Jajik, Bhat, Gur, Sonara and Wanhan generally resort to marriage by simple exchange, though among the higher classes of society marriage by gift accompanied with presents is not uncommon. Like other endogamous castes, purchase of brides is very common among the poorer people who have no brides to give in exchange and like the poor Lohanas they purchase girls from any other caste or even from non-Sindhis. These castes being very limited in number, the form of simple exchange of girls is the common recognised form, and other forms are adopted only in a fewer cases.

Marriage by gift among Sindhis is usually accompanied by presents and where it is concluded as a genuine business transaction, it assumes the form of purchase. In Sind the scale of presents was formulated in all social districts (Parganas) for various classes of society. Different castes had different scales in the same social districts, and the presenting of gifts by the bride's family is almost invariably accompanied by return presents whatever be the form of marriage contract. But even in societies where girls are purchased, the gifts to the bridegroom's family

are invariably followed according to the scale to which the parties belong, for in many of the cases, payment is made secretly to maintain the social status. The dowry starts with betrothal and as an act of announcement, the bride's family sends coconuts, five or more rupees according to custom, sugar-candy covered in a silken cloth, though many societies in India have increased the announcement (Misri-Topi) charges to guineas and large amounts of sweets, cloths and cash. Among some classes this is followed by cloths for bridegroom, his brother, father, grandfather, maternal grandfather, paternal uncle, females and even the spiritual preceptor. Any meeting between the elders of the parties after betrothal but before marriage is followed by payment in cash. The bridegroom's family is entitled to receive fixed amounts annually, nay seasonally, such as fruits (mangoes) till marriage has been celebrated. The marriage gifts form a long list which covers different scales of payment in cash, clothes etc. according to family status (Pahrani) for various occasions including post-marital meeting between the couple (Gadjani or Satavaro) to all kinsmen who include members of the bridegroom's mother's paternal family, his father, mother, maternal aunt, paternal aunt, married sister, her husband and family members, brother's married or betrothed daughter, sister's married or betrothed daughter and even married female cousin's daughter, though the long distances in India have eliminated much of this show. The very dress worn by the bridegroom on the occasion of marriage ceremony is supplied by the bride's family; and in addition they have to supply head-dress or shoulder wear for his father, maternal and paternal grandfathers or even pay cash equivalent. Then follows what is properly called dowry to the bride when she returns to the bridegroom's family for the first time after a short stay (Gadjani). It consists of a number of clothes for almost all the members of the family, both paternal and maternal, of the bridegroom as also for the "male issue that may be born of the pair" (Umed). Apart from clothes, the bride is also presented with ornamental gifts such as rings or gold bangles Before ivory bangles went out of fashion they were supplied by the bride's mother's parents but now they are substituted by fixed cash equi-

valents. The presents may include furniture, cots, beddings and other household articles, food preparations for the whole year being necessary accompaniments. If a girl is married in the same town or village she may visit her paternal house on every Wednesday or Friday or on other festivities such as Diwali, Holi, Thadhri and others. Amongst many people annual cash equivalents are fixed to avoid frequent paymets in kind.

By the Sind Act No. XXI of 1939, all gifts to the bride were prohibited, and the aggregate value of the payments was not to exceed where the list was made by a Panchayat, from the date of betrothal until the expiry of two years from the date of marriage Rs. 500, for the subsequent three years Rs. 50, per year, and thereafter Rs. 25 per year; and where the list was made by the Provincial Government, from the date of betrothal until the expiry of two years from the date of marriage Rs. 200, for the subsequent three years Rs. 20 per year, and thereafter Rs. 10 per year. But the operation of the Act showed that for the most part it had proved a failure.

The extent of money consideration is the highest amongst the Amils and the rich and educated classes of society. It is almost graded according to the degree of education or employment. Normally the highest amount may be Rs. 20,000 inclusive of cash and clothes and the gradations of payment among various Amils or Lohanas have ceased to exist after migration to India. The evil has appeared in its worst form and the amount of Rs. 3,000-5,000 has become common even among the lower middle classes of Lohanas. The Panchayat regulations have lost sanctions behind them and the tradition no longer exercises control in a society which is still in the process of formation.

While consideration passes from the bridal side in the higher societies, the lower classes among the Lohanas, the Bhatia and other castes have to pay money consideration for purchase of girls. The scarcity of girls coupled with the evil effects of hypergamy largely account for this. The sex proportion among the displaced persons in the States in which the Sindhis had

predominantly concentrated would appear from the following table based on the D.P. Census, October 1948.

Sl. No.	Provinces/States	Persons	Males	Females	Females per 100 males
1.	Ajmer Merwara ...	92,799	50,383	42,416	84
2.	Baroda State	21,138	11,163	9,975	90
3.	Bombay	2,64,023	1,38,994	1,25,029	90
4.	C.P. and Berar ...	91,507	48,696	42,811	86
5.	Jaipur State	51,795	27,542	24,253	89
6.	Jodhpur State ...	45,060	23,518	21,542	91
7.	Madhyabharat Union	59,333	31,186	28,147	90
8.	Matsya Union ...	53,034	23,471	24,563	86
9.	Rajasthan Union ...	32,544	17,081	15,463	90
10.	Saurashtra Union ...	35,891	19,047	16,844	89
11.	Vindhya Pradesh ...	12,945	6,890	6,055	88

It will thus appear that males outnumber females everywhere. Many agencies had started for the import of the girls from the adjoining provinces of Punjab, Kutch, Kathiawar and Rajasthan. The heavy demand brought many beggar girls in the form of poor and respectable ones who were married by their pseudo guardians often at a number of places. The extent of evil would be apparent from the penal measures adopted by Khairpur State under the "Importation of Women Regulating Act 1 of 1936" in which the preamble runs: "Whereas it has come to notice that women are being imported into Khairpur State from distant places and disposed of in marriage to State subjects on receipt of money consideration; and whereas it happens that such women subsequently complain that they have been abducted or that they have previous husbands living and for these or similar reasons apply to be restored to their relatives or to be sent to their native place; and whereas subjects to this State who marry such women are thereby put to loss, it is considered expedient to provide a Law to regulate the import of women from distant places into Khairpur State" The evil, however large, disappeared by the frequent recurrence of incidents of fraud.

Marriage by exchange may be simple or through three or more unions. Direct exchange as custom exists only among the Brahmanic priestly castes as they are small in number and the exchange between three or more unions exists among the Lohanas and Bhatias as their numbers in Sind are fairly large. Exchange may be simple or accompanied with money consideration as the circumstances may be. This institution like the marriage in form of purchase is caused by hypergamy as well as uneven sex ratio by which males outnumber females. A family which adopts this form of marriage is reduced in status. Marriage by simple exchange on the whole has greater advantages over the form in which three or more couples are united. The degree of consent by the parties is higher, the frequency of cancelling the contracts before marriage is less and the position enjoyed by woman is higher in the family. The Sindhis are generally monogamous and polygyny is rare. Though the instances of polygynous marriages among the Lohanas of Sukkur and Shikarpur frequently occured, this deviation from social norms called forth social disapprobation. Among the Brahmanic and artisan castes the difficulty of procuring girls in marriage, their small numbers and limited circles of selection preclude the possibilities of such instances. Polyandry or divorce are not customary, judicial separation is rare, but the instances of desertion by husband are numerous. Since migration, I was informed that, several instances of desertion had occured in Ulhasnagar owing to poverty. The husbands as also the women sought refuge in the destitute homes. Normally instances of desertion do not occur in societies where scarcity of girls is felt. "However carefully the partner is selected, marriage is always something of an adventure."... "In modern civilization, where life is becoming richer in interests and individual differences are getting more accentuated, the causes of disagreement are multiplied and the frictions are apt to become more serious and consequently, more likely to end in a rupture of the marriage tie."

The widow marriage as an institution does not exist among the Brahmanic priestly castes, Thakurs, Bhatias, Amils and higher and middle class Lohanas. The rare instances which occur often excite caste indignation. It is not a disgrace to marry a widow in the lowest classes where girls are scarce. Among the rural

Lohanas as those of villages near Kotdiji and Nara Valley, remarriage of widows is not only common, but is a social and a moral obligation. A widow living an unmarried life is looked upon with contempt. It is the usual practice in such societies to marry a widow of a younger brother and marriage with that of the elder is not infrequent. "In Khudabadi caste of Lohanos, if a girl becomes a widow early in life, the deceased husband's brother generally marries her."[35] Social disapproval of widow marriage also determines the frequency of marriage, but the decline in the number of early marriages specially after the Child Marriage Restraint Act, by consequent decline in the number of young widows has to some extent, eliminated the injurious forces affecting the marriage rate. Such disapproval however is beneficial to the hypergamous societies where scarcity of bridegrooms is felt. The comparative figure of widows to married and unmarried persons is clear from the distribution, by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex (in 1931) between certain ages among the Lohanas including the Amils, which is given below.

Age group	*Unmarried*		*Married*		*Widows*	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0—6 ...	997	998	3	2	—	—
7—13 ...	961	935	39	64	—	1
14—16 ...	820	559	175	436	5	5
17—23 ...	559	72	382	909	59	19
24—43 ...	150	17	772	808	78	175
44 and over ...	56	4	622	499	322	497

It is clear from the above that the problem of widow marriage has been partly solved by raising the marriage age, and partly by adopting the form of marriage of widows by societies in which the scarcity of girls is felt, while absence of the custom of widow marriage has beneficially acted for the higher societies, which are affected by the institution of hypergamy.

Desertion on account of inability to support the family has enormously increased. The number of unattached women and

children supported in the Destitute Homes makes an appalling figure. According to D.P. Census, October 1948 the areas which mainly sheltered the Sindhi population showed the following position.

Sl. No.	Provinces/States	Total Population of Displaced Persons	Unattached Women & Children			
			Women	Girls	Boys	Total
1.	Ajmer-Merwara ...	93,000	1,127	806	920	2,853
2.	Baroda State ...	21,000	445	239	362	1,046
3.	Bombay	2,64,000	4,189	2,791	2,882	9,862
4.	C.P. & Berar ...	92,000	716	515	679	1,910
5.	Jaipur State ...	52,000	629	363	454	1,446
6.	Jodhpur State ...	45,000	530	338	441	1,309
7.	Madhyabharat Union	59,000	532	269	270	1,071
8.	Matsya Union ...	53,000	646	485	546	1,677
9.	Rajasthan Union ...	33,000	458	259	296	1,013
10.	Saurashtra Union ...	36,000	629	696	665	1,990
11.	Vindhya Pradesh ...	13,000	179	130	172	481

Though the number of the destitutes has since declined owing to various reasons, the migration has created almost a permanent problem for the Sindhis. Unless the problem of economic rehabilitation is fully solved, lowest sections in the economic strata will continue to create destitutes leading to some of their most intricate problems of social pathology.

[1] Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, p. 381.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 382.
[3] Burton, *Sind and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus* p. 314.
[4] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 358.
[5] Narsain, (Kum.), J. J., *The Amil Community of Sind Hyderabad* (Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay), p. 24.
[6] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 362.
[7] Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 88.
[8] Narsain, (Kum.), J. J., *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[9] Aitken, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[10] *A glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 16.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[12] Enthoven, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 134.

13 *Ibid.*
14 Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,, Vol. I, p. 72.
15 Enthoven, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
17 *Ibid.*
18 Aitken, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
19 Narsain, (Kum.), J. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
20 Aitken, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
21 Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
22 *Ibid.*
23 Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Punjab*, p. 124.
24 *Ibid.*
25 *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of Punjab*, Vol. III, p. 72.
26 *Ibid.* p. 439.
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Census of India* 1931—*Bombay Presidency* Vol. VIII, Part I Report; an extract from the letter No. 4620 R dated 15th September 1932 from the Collector of Thar and Parkar. p. 176.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 165.
30 *Ibid.* p. 166.
31-32 *Census of India* 1901—*Bombay Presidency*, Report, p. 208.
33 Aitken, *op. cit.* p. 187.
34 Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage*, p. 60.
35 Hughes, A. W., *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

The most widely followed cult amongst the Sindhis is the cult of the Trinity. It symbolizes fertilising process and perpetuity of succession and consists in the worship of the male god Shiva, the mother-goddess (Shakti) and their son Ganesh who carries on the succession in perpetuity. The great god Shiva is worshipped under the name of Mahadev, with whom are also associated the Pipal tree and the Cobra. His exclusive worship is confined to Brahmins besides the Saivite religious orders such as Jogis, Saniasis and Gosains who are immigrants from the Punjab and other parts of India. However the members of other castes also worship him and in fact most of the Shiva temples in Sind were built by the Lohanas. A worshipper of Shiva is not necessarily a Saiva by sect, though the term Saivite is generally applied to those who are more or less exclusively devoted to his worship. The usual form in which this deity is worshipped is the Linga or conical stone, which is installed in a temple (*Shivalo*) and may be black or white or wholly covered by a metal sheet of brass or gold. It is fixed within a structure resembling the feminine counter part of this phallic emblem and in front of it is seated a bull generally of marble and on the sides are placed other small deities such as Ganesh, Parvati, Krishna and others. This temple square is generally surrounded by a passage for a round (*Prakarma*) by the devotees. Outside the temple square stands the sacred *Bar* or Pipal tree.

His votaries pour water and lay their offerings—flowers, fruit and uncooked grain—on the phallic emblem. The temple priest performs his worship by bathing the *linga* and applying Saivite sectarian mark on it with sandal powder and safflower,

and then offers the *bel* (Aegle marmilos, *Bil patra*) and fruit of the *Ak* tree (Calatropis procera) to it while ambergris is burnt before it daily. Monday is His holy day when His devotees attend the temple and pour milk, water and fruits over it. On the first Monday of every month fairs were held at some important temples in Hyderabad and Shikarpur. But the most sacred day of this deity is Shivaratri which was celebrated throughout Sind with great fairs and observation of fast and worship (*puja*) by the Saivites. He is worshipped with variations in offerings etc. after every three hours for four times, the first beginning in the evening. The devotee after taking bath every time, bathes the *linga*, applies the sectarian mark to it, and pours milk, curd, sugar, honey and butter over it followed by offerings of *bel patra*, flowers and fruits of its favourite *Ak* tree. After that the sacred thread (*janio*) is worn round it and clothes and food are offered to it. Each performance is concluded by reading of the sacred text of the Saivites when milk-stream (*khidhara*) falls over the *linga* from the metal pot above. The sacred night falls on the 14th day of the waning moon in the month of Mangh or Magh (January-February), and is observed by all the Hindus generally, but those who are not strict followers of the sect do not observe any fast; they only visit the temple. Yet another sacred day of this god is the Pridosh Vrit, falling on fourteenth day of both the rising and the waning moon when He is worshipped in the usual form.

As no Brahmin would accept anything in charity in the name of this terrific god of destruction, no Sindhi Brahmin (Sarswat) acts as a temple priest for he would not accept the offerings of Siva. The Shivalayas (Siva temples) in Sind were therefore looked after by the Shrimali Brahmins of Marwar who lived there as temple priests with their families. At some places there were Saniasis as temple priests but the office in case of Shrimalis was usually hereditary while among Saniasis it went to the chief disciple of the temple priest. Though the Siva temples were not uncommon in villages, their greatest number existed in Tando Adam and Shikarpur the former being called the Kashi of Sind. The famous temples which attracted large number of worshippers and where fairs were held were the temples of Hem-kot-Mahadev in Jhimpir near Karachi, a place of pilgrimage

for the Hindus of Lar or Lower Sind, one at Laki in the Dadu district where people gathered from all parts of Sind, on the occasion of Shivaratri, and at Clifton in Karachi where the *linga* was worshipped in a chevran-shaped hole, the first two being more celebrated owing to the proximity of natural springs.

Though the god Shiva is supposed to reside in the fig (*bar*) tree found outside his temple squares, yet the people identify the Pipal tree with Mahadev. No one is allowed to cut it off, lop off its branches, or even pull off its leaves. Sacred groves were found in many villages which were regularly watered and worshipped. The Pipal tree is generally believed to be haunted by evil spirits and if it happens to grow within the house precincts, it is thought to prove unlucky and dreaded as full of mysterious awe. Its worship is also identical to the *linga* worship and consists in pouring water, milk or curd and uncooked grain over the tree. The similarity of worship becomes remarkable during the *Vasakhro* ceremony, beginning on the third day of *Chaitra* (March-April) at the opening of the local year and lasts for one month. It ends on the second day of the following month (*Vesakh*) after which this rite is named. On the first day of the celebration, the ladies throng in the early morning near the sacred grove and after taking bath, they encircle the tree with triple cord of sacred thread. Then they recite 3, 5, or 7 stories purporting to show how Mahadev or the Pipal tree fulfilled all desires, gave children and wealth throughout this month by regular worship of the Pipal tree. Then they pour water, milk, curd etc. over the tree and pay homage to it before victuals are distributed, the worship being repeated on all Mondays falling during this period, as Monday is sacred to the Pipal and to Mahadev. The Pipal tree is invoked as Mahadev during the worship. Another tree sacred to this deity is the *Calotropis procera* and *gigantea,* fruit of which is offered to the *linga* during the worship. At some places in Sind where Pipal tree did not grow it was identified with and worshipped as Mahadev.

The Cobra is also considered as a manifestation of Mahadev. It is one of the commonest snakes, and at the same time the most venomous, the bite of which causes almost immediate death. It is venerated and worshipped as Mahadev by the rural folk.

It it happens to get into a house, instead of killing it on the spot, they supply milk to it. No member of the family would have the courage to lay sacrilegious hands on it and a Jogi or worshipper of the Gogal Vir (Lord of snakes) would be called to entrap and take it away. In case it is a permanent occupant of the house, the family people would prepare a temple (*devri*) for it and light a lamp there regularly. They place milk and cooked rice regularly before it on sacred days specially on Fridays, whereupon it is believed that it will do no harm unless provoked. It is feared that if it is killed, some other cobra would surely take revenge some day. When a cobra becomes hundred years old, it is called Vasing snake and is believed to possess red eyes and an erect top on the head. It resides generally in trees or ruins and unoccupied houses and has magnetic eye sight, for, it is said, when it stares at any rat or animal, it is at once drawn towards it. A person who dies leaving a buried treasure behind, is believed to be reborn as a 'Vasing Nag' to guard his treasures if he remains still attached to it. This 'Vasing Nag' presumedly possesses a gem-like object (*man*) in its head which makes all the treasures buried in earth visible to the person who possesses it. The serpent cannot be caught by anybody except the Jogis, a caste of snake charmers, by collecting a heap of dried cow-dung cakes in its vicinity so that when the serpent exhales on hearing the musical notes of the Jogi's flute, the heap catches fire and consumes the energies of the snake. The story runs that when the Jogis tried to entrap the Vasing nag, [Vasuk Nag] near the pre-historic site of Jhukarjo daro in Larkana many of them were burnt and the snake ran away carving a hole upto the Indus through which its waters ran forming the present West Nara river.

Amongst the Lohanas, the members of the Nagdev totem who are spread throughout Sind claim descent from the Nag or the Cobra and believe that no reptile of any species would ever bite them or their relatives. The Hindus geneally and the Nagdevs particularly celebrate a feast in honour of this deity in the month of *Sawan* (July-August). Ladies after bathing in the morning gather near a sacred *Kandi* tree (Prosopis spicigera) probably where a serpent hole might have existed and perform a ritual with rice flour, sugar and clarified butter mixed together,

and a piece of red cloth, an earthen lamp and such other things. This festival is called Gogo after Gogal Vir, the lord of all the snakes in the world, who according to a tradition lived in a village beyond Thatta on the bank of the Indus. All the species of reptiles were his disciples who gathered before him when summoned, and whose obedience is expressed in a poetic phrase, "Love in the manner of a serpent which hearing the name of its *gurudev* (Gogal Vir) comes out and places its head." The snake is never entrapped by the Jogi except under an oath (*dohi*) of Gogal Vir which may be conditional as the Jogi may promise to leave it after six months or more. If there is a breach of this condition, the cobra may take revenge by biting a member of Jogi's family. The Jogis take the cobra (Mahadev) in a reedbox and make it dance to the accompaniment of a musical note, and beg from door to door, on demonstrating their familiarity with the cobra.

According to one of the Sindhi traditions, the Khapar snake, which was the one not in obedience to Gogal Vir, lay hidden above the door and stung him on his head when he stood there. As he had no disciple to whom he could have imparted his magical powers, he ordered his son to cook his flesh and eat it so that the power may be transferred to him, but hardly had the son prepared the dish on the Indus bank, when seven hungry thieves passed by and forcibly took away the dish from him. Feasting on it they became the masters of magic and began to make predictions which are still current throughout Sind. But this story according to another tradition refers to Shaikh-Baba-el-din, a saint of Multan who was invited by his disciples at Thatta but after seeing his miracles, they killed him so as to acquire his spiritual powers. Sind was then sometimes governed from Thatta and sometimes from Delhi. They informed the king that under the walls of the capital stood the head of a large serpent whose tail terminated at Delhi and as long as the serpent continued to lie in that position, Sind had nothing to fear. They asked for permission to fix it in permanent position by thrusting an iron spit into its nose. This was done, but as this invited much public criticism, the ruler Jam Tamachi pulled out the iron spit and showed that it was actually full of blood, "but the snake turned

his head where stood his tail, and that Sind had for ever lost her protecting spell."

It will be remarkable to note here that the Jogis who claim to be the representative caste of this cult are in fact Shaivites. Though Muslims, they profess many of the Hindu religious beliefs and customs and are followers of Guru Gorakhnath, the great Shaivite ascetic. Their binding religious oath is taken in the name of Gorakhnath and they wear like Hindu Shaivite Jogis long red shirts and take *Alakh Godri.*

The sacred bull, a proper male regenerative force, and a fit vehicle for the father god, is usually represented as lying down on a pedestal facing the Lingam in Shiva temples, with three of its legs doubled under it, and the right forefoot stretched straight out. There is no bull worship among the Sindhis as all the non-Brahmin castes are either Vaishnavites or Darya-panthis, but no Hindu rides it or uses it in labour on the eleventh day of the rising or waning moon (*Ekadashi*).

When we understand religion from the ranks and affiliation, we find that there are no Sindhi Shaivite orders and that they mostly came from U P. and the Punjab. Often more poverty stricken Sindhis joined them. They are distinguished from the Vaishnavites in their sectarian marks and rosaries. They generally apply three yellow horizontal lines though the more religious make the mark with ashes. Their rosary beads, numbering 108, are also invariably the rough seeds of the *rudraksh* (Elæocarpus ganitrus) The Shaivite orders found in Sind were the Saniasi, Gosain, Jogi and the Jangam.

The Saniasis numbering 1776 in 1891 were mostly Nangas though Gir and Puri sects were also found The term Saniasi denotes a Brahmin in the fourth stage of his life. Some of them were the temple-priests in Shiva-temples. They abstain from marriage, but 1233 females among them were returned in 1901. Most of them abstain from animal food, but intoxicate themselves with hemp more than almost any other class, wear a yellow shirt and a turban, sell charms and live by mendicancy. Their dead

are buried, but one may direct before death that the dead body may be thrown into water.

Gosains, of whom 1619 were enumerated in 1901, form a religious order of mendicants to which "Members of any Hindu caste are admitted on performing certain ceremonies, and submitting to certain rules of discipline. They are allowed to marry within the order and partake of meat and alcohol, and wear ochre coloured garments. Like the Saniasis they are buried when dead in a sitting position though some of them throw their dead into the Indus.[1]

Jogis numbering 1297 in 1931 also admit converts from any Hindu caste. They are followers of Gorakhnath, their patron saint, who flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century and live on mendicancy. Some do not marry and those who marry, observe the rules of endogamy. They wear garments dyed with ochre, and some, called Kanphars, wear thick ear rings of glass, wood or metal. In regard to the diet their practice is not uniform; some indulge in meat, whilst others are vegetarians. The dead are buried in a sitting position like the Gosain. Most of them were found in the Hyderabad district. They are also called Naths after their preceptor and their religious council was held in their main temple in Shikarpur. Their sacred text is Gorakh Padhati and they worship Devi, a goddess, called Jog Maya. Their Shiva temples are called Marhis and the attendant is called Oghar who after long service acquires the stage of Kanphar Jogis. The Oghar carries a piece of hollow stick, fastened by a thread round his neck and he blows through it before the commencement of any work. Machhendranath had a co-religionist named Kanipak whose followers are called Kanipak Jogis. They are also Shaivites, but as the cobra serpent is also identified with Siva, they follow the serpent cult and live on mendicancy. They also wear similar dress of long ochre-coloured shirt and thick rings in ears and are found among both Hindus and Muslims.

The last Shaivite religious order was the Jangam which though numerically less, was more important than the rest. They describe their own origin from the third eye of Mahadev who was compelled to create them as there was no beggar or Brahmin

on earth who could accept charity at the time of his marriage with Parwati. The Jangam being created all naked, the different deities gave him different articles and apparels to make him a perfect Shaivite beggar. The Dwara of brass on his head represents the temple, and the wings in it represent the thirty-three crores of deities while on his forehead are brass idols of Mahadev, Parvati and Ganesh together with Shesh Nag, the cobra. Mahavir gave him the bell in which he accepts charity, Parwati gave him two *kundals* (ear-rings) which hang over his ears and Ganesh gave him the cloth bag hanging on his left shoulder. He has the rosary of Hinglaj Devi, and applies the caste mark with ashes. Their occupation is mendicancy and they go begging by ringing the bell and singing the poetic utterings (*banis*) which characterise the nature of all the four ages. According to them there are four castes of Jangam namely Deru in the West, Seel in the North, Lingayat in the South and the Mool living with Mahadev. They all have one *gotra* namely Bihungam, and the totem of Deru Jangams is Jakhlan. In Sind they came from the Punjab and their number was almost negligible and they had no fixed place though they had four temples (Marhis) at Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Karachi. Their central Marhi was at Hyderabad where the idols of Mahadev, Parvati, Ganesh and Mahavir were installed. They met at Hyderabad twice a year on Diwali and Holi, and enjoyed at communal meals for three days and settled the matters affecting their Panchayat. They did not marry in Sind nor they brought their wives with them.

Closely connected with the worship of Shiva, and far more widely spread, is the cult of his consort, or the female energy, the mother-goddess. The various forms in which the goddess as appeared at different times and places are known by as many different names, which represent entirely distinct personalities to the ordinary worshipper. Thus Bhavani, Kali, Durga, Chandi, *Sitala and Hinglaj Devi* are the common forms in which the Devi is invoked among Sindhis. Of the above forms Singha Bhavani or the Lion goddess, Kali and Sitala or the small-pox goddess are worshipped by the Sindhis, the last one being an humbler divinity had separate temples dedicated to it. Kali is represented as a destructress; and as wife of Shiva she is called Parvati

and her stone images are generally found placed in the temple square on which Lingam is installed.

The word Shakta in its narrower meaning is applicable only to those who have been initiated and are allowed to partake in mysterious rites of the goddess; but as these secret rites are of a disreputable character, they call themselves as Upasaks or Bhagats. The Sonaras who are a caste of Devi worshippers claim descent from her and are called Mai Pota or sons of the Mother (goddess). Besides them the Gurs, Wanhan and the Bhat are by faith worshippers of the mother-goddess, and partake in mysterious ceremonies though the Shaktas may be found amongst all other castes. Even the Shaivites like Jogis and Saniasis may be shaktas at the same time.

Among the various forms, the Singha Bhavani or the lion-goddess forms the important cult which is widely followed by the Sindhis. She is identified with Durga and is represented as seated on lion with eight hands holding trident and other objects. She is also identified with barley for the process of sowing barley in the Navaratri festival of the goddess, which is called "Sowing the goddess Bhavani." The caste temples of the followers of this cult were built in honour of this goddess almost in every town or important village in Sind, the most important being built by the Gurs or spiritual preceptors of the followers of the mother-goddess. The temples consist of a square, and a niche in its western wall, where a stone image of the goddess is installed. On the base corners of the niche and the opposite wall are kept the lights burning specially on festival nights. The roof is covered with cloth and on the sides are placed small stone idols of other deities of whom Bheraun's image is a necessary accompaniment. Below it at the base there is a place for *havan* on the two corners of which stand the tridents. The daily worship of the goddess consists in burning incense and lighting the lamps; but the Gur in the early morn takes bath and after applying the red round sectarian mark on his forehead and the ear lobes, pays homage to the goddess and reads the Devi Bhagwat or sacred text of the Shaktas. At sunset he lights the lamps and purifies the atmosphere by burning incense accompanied with the

sound of temple bells and conch-shells. With *arti* the worship is over.

The sacred days of the goddess are generally observed by fast and sitting awake (*jagirto*) at night. The *ashtami* or eighth day of first half of every month is sacred to her when devotees may fast and perform certain ceremonies, light lamps and pay homage. The days most sacred are the first nine days of the waning moon in the months of *Chet* (March-April) ad *Asu* (September-October). These are called *Ekahana* festivals or Navaratri or nine-nights of the goddess. On the first day of the festival falling on the day when the moon completely wanes (*umas*), the priest or attendant of the temple prepares a corn field (*vari*) in the square below the niche (*havan kund*) filling it with manured clay. A new jar full of water is placed in the corn field and covered all round with manured clay upto its neck. A cocoanut is placed on the top of the jar and its two eyed side is covered with saltish mud. The barley are sown and a red cloth is spread over the mud through which the barley sprout. The festival nights are observed by sitting awake and singing in praise of the goddess generally between 12 and 3 a.m. at night.

The *ashtami* or eighth day of the moon is observed as the most sacred day of the goddess when no person is allowed to partake in the mysterious ceremonies of this sect unless he is a devotee (*shewak*) of the goddess On this day the grown barley are removed by the attendant and thrown into the river or canal. After purifying the atmosphere, the Devi is propitiated by songs with the accompaniment of music. The Upasaks sit on one side of the temple square from right to left in the order of Gurs (according to order of seniority) Mahavir, Bir, Jogi, Bhandari, Asini, Tahljo, or the attendant and then the rest of the devotees of various castes. Even untouchables may be allowed to sit if they are Devi worshippers The rite begins by paying homage to the goddess and then to each other, and a person must pay homage even to his wife if she happens to be there. Then the attendant prepares hemp and distributes amongst the sitters sprinkling the same over the goddess and pouring some quantity over the ground where the barley is sown.

The remaining quantity also bit by bit is daily poured at the latter place. A cupful of hemp is again prepared from the same hemp-seed and the preparation called 'Nimtalai' is sipped by all the devotees, holding the cup with five fingers. The Gur drinks first a little of it and the rest follow in order. The ordinary devotees take it on the palm and drink. This rite is called "Hathal." The attendant afterwards brings water in the same cup and gives to every devotee to wash their hands. This is called "Karpakhal."

After the above rite is over, the attendant (*tahlyo*) brings a cup of rice over which the Gur pronounces something. A curtain is held by *Sakhi* and *Jogin* under which the attendant stretches his hand to receive a handful of the rice from the Gur in such a way that nobody is able to see it. The attendant gives the handful of rice to a dog, the vehicle of Bhairav or *Kotwal* of the goddess. He brings water and sprinkles in the temple over the devotees. Then the priest asks him, "what did you see"? and the attendant replies, "knowledge and wealth are fully available." This is called "Chaunk". Then commences the practice of what is called as "Kaunli." The preparation of rice is distributed in handfuls by the attendants to all the Gurs and others except Bir in the same order and takes back from each some quantity of the handfuls called "Bars." The quantity taken back is mixed with the remaining quantity in the plate and again distributed to all, Bir taking the last amongst the sitters (*asinis*). He puts it with force in his mouth saying "Down with it" (*Mar phaunka*) and striking his leg against the ground cries aloud "Tor Lanka" meaning "finish the Lanka." The rice are then distributed among the ordinary devotees. The attendant also distributes rice grain to all who take only five grains in the right palm and when the priest says aloud "Akhara," they swallow them repeating the same word. This is called "Akhara." The attendant applies sectarian mark to the mother goddess and all the sitters who pay homage in the above order as before. This Shakti worship ends (with *Palau*) when the devotees hold the skirt and come before the goddess with the uppermost button of the shirt unfastened. When the Gur priest finishes his utterings, they fasten their buttons and disperse.

During the festival, the Barley field is regularly watered and worshipped and on the last day it is removed and thrown into a canal or river. The barley is identified with the mother-goddess and the red cloth through which the barley sprout is symbolic of the flesh of the corn-goddess. Both the half-yearly festivals take place in the harvest season. The rite is celebrated to revive the corn by death of the corn-goddess by imitative magic.

Another form in which the mother-goddess is invoked among the Sindhis is Kali. She is represented as a huge, black, blood-thirsty goddess carrying a shorn head in one hand and a dagger in the other. She wears a necklace of shorn human heads and presents an awful figure with her tongue stretched out in wrath. There are generally no special temples dedicated to her as in the case of goddess Bhavani and her images are therefore mostly found in Sivalayas or Marhis or they are installed side by side with the lion-goddess. Yet the important temples of Sind were those dedicated to the goddess Kali. The most sacred of them is at Laki in the cave where the visitors have to creep in to worship the goddess. A visit to this temple is essential before a pilgrimage to Hingalj. It is a pilgrim place for the Sindhis and gets additional importance by the presence of a holy spring. Another sacred temple in Sind is also in a cave at a distance beyond Arore, the ancient capital of Sind in the Rohiri hills, wherein the image of Kali is installed. An annual fair was held in September where thousands of people thronged from Sukkur, Rohri and other towns to celebrate the day. Yet another important temple is at Hyderabad where an annual fair was held. As there is not much of Kali worship among Sindhis, there are no festivals celebrated in her honour nor there are any special sacred days for her.

The third form in which She is worshipped is Sitala, the small-pox goddess. She is the eldest of a band of sisters named after different kinds of diseases such as measles etc., and they are the most dreaded of all the minor powers. The others are Lakhro (chicken-pox), Uriri (Measles), Thar Mai (goddess of Thar desert), Jesalmiri, Gala Mai (Scrofula), Dabisiro (a slight kind of small-pox) and Nandhi Mai (or the slight pox). Of

them Lakhro is of two kinds, small and big. Each is supposed to cause a specific disease while Sitala's speciality is small-pox. Yet all other minor powers are worshipped at the temple of Sitala and are often identified with it (as Nandhi Mai). Their images look like ordinary women generally with four arms. The Sitala (Vadi Mai) is represented with four arms and as seated on a donkey. She holds a broom and a winnowing fan in two of her hands and a water-pot (*karmandal*) or two other objects in the other, the former two objects indicating the process of removing heat and disease by the goddess. The shrines of Sitala were found in many towns or big villages in Sind. All through the small-pox season, and specially during an outbreak of the disease, women may be observed going about in a group, watering every tree on way to the shrine so as to cool the goddess. The lamps burnt at the shrine are of the *ekmukh* type and are lit every evening in the temple. The Sitala temples in Sind were not many and in several villages ordinary images were installed which the women visited if there was an attack of some disease other than the small-pox; and in the case of the latter, they visited the Sitala temple however far it might be from their village. Tuesday is sacred to this goddess which may be celebrated by women by eating stale food prepared on the previous day. Sitala Saptami was celebrated when the people from different villages visited the temple.

The worship of the mother-goddess, by Mohammedans as well as Hindus, lasts during the whole period of the attack by the goddess (disease). In case of small-pox the patient becomes feverish and his eyes become red. On the third night of the attack, one-third of a cardamom is administered to the patient in milk while the remaining is given to him on the two successive nights for making the goddess visible. The patient sleeps on a cot and the women folk sing Sitala odes to appease the goddess of cold. On the seventh day, the patient is made to ride a donkey, the vehicle of the goddess, after which boiled grain are distributed and some money, and grain for the donkey, are given to its master. On the same evening, the mother of the patient after taking bath brings a small water pot and another smaller one for placing on its top as a lid. The pot is filled with water and a branch of the *Lao* (Tamarisc indica)

tree is put in it with which she pours water over the trees and the mother-goddess. This is called "Belhro" by which water is poured to bring coolness. A brazen plate is placed on the cot near the patient's head and in it are placed a mirror, a silken handkerchief, five rupees and five *nakulas* (a sweet preparation)

On the eighth day, she prepares sweet flour cakes in an earthern pan on a separate mud fireplace. The women eat stale food prepared on the previous day. This is called "Thadho" (the cold). Till the 21st day, the women observe five or seven *Thadhos* and visit the temple of the goddess, singing on the way. During the entire period of the 21 days, the mother takes the water pot and sprinkles water on the trees and after pouring water in the shrine and singing songs she returns and sprinkles water over the patient. She keeps back the jar on a heap of sand by the patients' side. During the same period several taboos are observed. The whole house is kept clean and cold, no fire is burnt in the room of the patient, no outsider is allowed to remove fire from the house, nothing is given in charity, no sweeping is done with broom in that room and even no sewing is done by the ladies.

On the last day, patient is taken to the shrine on a donkey's back in procession with Langhas and kettle drummers joining in. The women folk in their sacred attires sing with the accompaniment of music while a person walking at the head of the procession goes on sprinkling water mixed with milk. The patient is seated in a big metal tray and a sieve in which are placed a cake with seven red marks and twenty other small pieces of it, a stone piece, cooked rice and silver Sitala image in a necklace form is placed on his head Over the sieve is poured cow's urine mixed with milk, and the same falls through the sieve on the body of the patient. The ladies apply red marks on their foreheads and sing in prayer for mercy of the goddess. The Sitala necklace is then worn by the patient and is removed while the patient's mother wears a necklace of golden beads (Mohan Mala). The ladies make cloth offerings to the goddess, sometimes tie red ribbons to it and besmear it with red paint. Offerings are also made to the temple keeper and a cocoanut is

broken as an offering to the goddess and the pieces are distributed. The patient is then brought back in procession with music and singing.

In case of a minor attack, the last day, which is the third or the fifth day, is observed as above without any music though use of cold food (*thadho*) is essential in the worship of this goddess.

The annual festival observed in honour of this goddess is called "Thadhri" or the cooling festivity. It falls on the seventh day of the waning moon in the month of *Savan* (July-August) every year. On the previous day the ladies prepare cakes and curd preparations, in the same manner as they do on the last day of the attack of small-pox, and go singing on the festival day to the local shrine, make offerings and eat the cold meals prepared. Fire is generally not burnt in the house on that day. The seventh day of the rising moon in the last two months of the local year are also sacred to this goddess and are called "Satain" or "Saptami." These days are also observed by ladies by eating cold meals (*thadho*) after making offerings to the goddess. Images of Sitala prepared from cow-dung are fixed on the outside wall of the house during the attack of small-pox.

The goddess is worshipped also under the usual name of Parvati or Gauri. There is however only one festival celebrated in her name. It is called Gauri Tij which falls on the third day of the waning moon in the month of *Vesakh*. It is the first day according to the Sindhi calendar of the second month of the year. On this day married women worship Mahadev and his consort Parvati in the early morn and observe fast for the whole day.

The last member of the Trinity symbolising the perpetuity of succession is Ganesh. He is represented with an elephant trunk and with his vehicle, the rat. He is also identified with the Swastika. His idols however are not so visible in frequent places as in the rest of India and special temples are rarely dedicated to him. Yet he is always the first god worshipped in all

public ceremonies and other rites. In all birth, marriage and even the funeral rites, his worship is indispensable and must precede that of all other gods. The funeral rite on the tenth day consists of Ganesh worship under a Pipal tree. During the marriage ceremonies Vinayak or Ganesh idol is prepared of mud by a Jajik, a Brahmin or even by the native potter and placed near the deities and worshipped. The most sacred day to this deity is the fourth day of the waning moon in the month of *Bhado* (August-September) when his devotees observe fast and worship him. So also the fourth day of every month of the waning moon (Ganesh *choth*) is observed generally by the women folk by fast and a visit to the Brahmin at whose Ganesh worship is performed. Hindus of all castes generally avoid meat on this day. On the eighth day of the rising moon in the month of *Bhado*, the idols of this deity are taken in procession in big towns the day being celebrated mostly by Brahmins with great pomp and splendour.

RIVER-CULT

Sind, to which India owes its name, is a gift of the Indus (the primordial ocean) and has been created and sustained by it. With the advance of spring the Indus rises and overflows its banks and inundates the low-lying country far and wide. "The inundations commence by the end of March, but are perceptibly felt in the month of May and attain their height, in the month of August." It was in the phenomena of general overspreading of floods that the indigenous cult of the people was evolved. The coming of the flood was celebrated by people in villages by taking a "Bahrana" (offering-temple) to the 'Sea-god' in procession when the waters approached the village canal or lake. Having installed the picture of the river-god and having lit a perpetual light, they took out a procession accompanied with music and dance, as a welcome to the river-god. The village folk threw rice and fruits as offerings to the deity, and as the waters approached, they made grain oblations to the god and worshipped him.

The period of inundation is celebrated by observation of the *Chaliho* festival or the festival of the forty days of the flood. It

begins on the full moon day of *Akhar* (June-July). The women mix rice and turmeric, dry them and then add cloves and cardamoms to it. They make grain oblations to the river deity from it thrice a day during the inundation period on the bank of a lake or canal and go through the usual form of worship. On every Friday, or the birth-day of river-god, victuals are offered to the waters and distributed among the people. The day of the full moon and the new moon and Fridays are sacred to the river-god ; and when they fall during this period, they are specially celebrated by taking five or seven, one or four corner lamps of wheat flour to the adjacent pool or canal where they worship the river deity and distribute the victuals after offering to the waters.

The last day of the *Chaliho* festival is commenced by putting forty kinds of eatables, specially fruits, in an earthen vessel and mixing with wheat cakes, one for each member of the family. The vessel is painted in red with five or seven Swastika designs and covered at the top with a cocoanut. Round about are tied the necklaces prepared of cloves, cardamoms and mango leaves. Then the vessel is carried by a woman on her head to the nearest tank or canal accompanied by another woman who carries five or seven four cornered flour lamps burning with wicks of safflower colour. After taking bath she applies mark on the forehead and paints swastika on her forehead with powder of red-oxide. The women thus gathered sing "Panjra" songs in praise of the river-god, dive in the mid stream with clothes on, and sink the vessel under water. Grain oblations are made to the river deity and flour lamps are floated on water. Then they return and observe the birthday rite (Bij) of river god and distribute victuals (*sesa*) after offering to water. This festival may be observed by some males also by sitting on the bank of a canal or tank for forty days and keeping vessels full of water nearby. They make oblations to the river deity thrice a day and go through the usual form of river worship. The last day of *Chaliho* celebration is the day of taking leave from waters as the floods are now supposed to retreat.

The flood begins its retreat on the first day of *Bhado* when the "corn field" grown during the "Satana" corn festival, is

festival is celebrated twice a year, one immediately after the retreat of floods and the other with the opening of the New Year.

By easy extension of ideas, the spirit of vegetation or river-god was believed to exercise a fertilising influence on human life as almost all the rituals of the Daryapanthis relate to the promotion of fertility and safety of the child. They also identify the process of inundating the land with the act of human fertilisation. As the waters come for the first time every year in a lake or canal, the married women who are barren put some cardamoms in the approaching waters and sit on the dry soil which is about to be flooded. They anxiously spread out their petticoats to take out the cardamoms thrown as they represent the sons that the river-god may bestow on them. They sit till the waters approach, soak their petticoats and rise up to the navel. Some take a sieve, a symbol of fertility, and keeping it on their heads put their heads in the approaching waters after taking out the cardamoms.

Then there is a festival celebrated on thirteenth day of the waning moon in month of *Jeth* (May-June) when waters are in their height. It is a celebration in honour of river-god to whom victuals are offered for having provided sons to its worshippers. On every Sunday and last day of the waning moon (*Umavas*) in this month, ladies flock at a brink of lake or canal and worship the river-god as usual. They take out mud and place the lump on the brink and plant a few small branches of date-palm in it. Then they put treacle and peas in one corner of their head-dress and the same touching the ears they pray for protection of their sons and husbands. Then they take some peas in a hand and invoke the river-god through song for long life of their sons. The festival is called "Sesa" or offering to the river-god, the first of which is celebrated on the last Sunday and the other on the last day of the waning moon (*Umavas*). The first is a bigger festival. In these festivals, different delicious preparations are made for each son and after making offerings to the river-god, and feeding a Brahmin or a virgin, the feasts are enjoyed.

The "Satana" festival falls in the month of *Savan* on the 25th day of the month. In an earthen pot seeds of seven kinds are sown (cotton-seed, beans, peas, barley, *mung*, *sini* and *siranh*) and watered till they sprout. On the full moon day a virgin bride made of clay is placed in this garden of "Adonis" which has fairly grown by this time. The virgin is fed with peas and sweet flour preparation (*gulir*) and a red sectarian mark is applied to it. It is worshipped by virgin girls who observe this festival by sitting awake for the whole night. On the next day, the clay-virgin is taken out and the whole corn-field is removed and thrown in a water tank. Five crows prepared from clay are seated near the virgin bride and boiled rice is placed for feeding the crow. On the 6th day of the month, the Brahmin priest sends a clay-boat and four clay-bulls. The virgin girls who observe the festival worship the clay objects namely the crows, the virgin and the bullocks all placed together. A lamp is lighted near them and sweet cakes are offered to them. Red sectarian marks are applied by the girls on their foreheads and to those of the clay-bulls and fruits are given to the Brahmin priest who gave them the clay bulls The Brahmin binds them with thread and gives them another boat and four clay-bulls which are added and placed together with the previous ones. Then they light a flour lamp and repeat the same form of worship after completion of which they take their meals. On this day, the food is changed as the festival is also called "Ana Matyo" or change of grain.

There are some sun pools (Surya kunds) in Sind and the Punjab as probably also in some other parts of India. One such sun pool is at Laki in Dadu district where the sun is supposed to emerge every morning from its pool or the spring Another important sun pool is in Multan, the ancient stronghold of Hinduism in Sind,[2] which probably means "*City of the temple of the Sun*," a corruption of the words "Molo-Sthana-pura."[3] In Multan an idol of Sun god was installed where a large annual fair was held. Nearby it, was located a huge pool from which the sun was supposed to emerge every year as in Hardwar on New Year's day or day of the Indus flood. The people see it rising from the pool which represents the primordial ocean, the Indus, beyond the mountain. It is supposed to complete its

journey and reappear from its abode, the Indus, every morning and on the New Year day.

The moon is supposed to influence and control the phenomena of floods, and therefore the days of full moon, new moon and the dark moon (*umavas*) are sacred to the river-god. On these days, people collect at the nearest pool or canal and after making grain oblations to the river god, go through the usual forms of worship. On New Moon and Full Moon days they look at the moon with veneration and then pay homage to their elders. The sphere in which the moon completely wanes and disappears beyond the Indus in the south came to be considered as land of the dead and the *umavas* day came to be associated with the dead ancestors. The *umavas* day which happens to fall on Monday or day of the moon is very sacred to the departed souls.

As *umavas*, the day when moon completely disappears in the furthest distance, is associated with the land of the dead, so the day of the full moon is considered to be the one when the ancestors can visit this world. In the month of *Bhado* (August-September) when waters recede and it becomes easier for the dead to cross the Indus on the full moon day for enjoying their feasts, people send them boats for crossing the river. This custom is called " Ban Badhri," and is observed two days before the full moon day, the time required for crossing the river. On this day people prepare reed-boats and place a four-cornered flour lamp at the base and a one-cornered one at the top and float the boat in the water in the evening. After going through the usual forms of river worship they push the boats to the other side of the lake or canal for the dead ancestors to arrive safely from beyond the river. They arrive on the full moon day and after enjoying their *shradhs* on respective days, they return to their land on *umavas* or the day of the dead. The fact that the land of the dead was believed to exist beyond the Indus is further supported by the last observance of people on death-bed of giving a cow to a Brahmin in charity after washing its tail thrice under the belief that after death they will be safely conveyed beyond the river if they cling to its tail. The cow is

identified with the mother goddess and is considered as a vehicle for conveying the dead to their land beyond the Indus.

The river rises exactly with the beginning of the Hindu Year in *Chet* (March-April) and the New Year day seems to have been fixed by the early settlers as the day of the Indus flood. This according to Indian mythology is also the day when the world was created out of water by Prajapati. It is also the day when the present incarnation of the river-god Amarlal is believed to have been born. The celebration of "Ekahana" festival beginning with the opening of the year is also regarded as a ritualistic method of promoting the fertility of cereal crops. The sun which completes the cycle of a year is also considered to emerge from the river on New Year day. So New Year day or day of the Indus flood is believed to be the day when all life and the world were formed. It was celebrated throughout Sind at different places on river banks with great fairs. The *bahranas* (offerings to sea-god) are taken out by installing a picture of the river-god in a temple structure with a perpetual light placed in it. The river-god is taken in procession accompanied with music and dance. In Sind the people sang (*Panjra*) in praise of the river-god and after passing through the village reached a place on the Indus bank where people of adjacent villages gathered to celebrate the fair, and put it in the river in the evening. It was the greatest of all Sindhi fairs when in all towns and villages shops were closed for celebrating the day. Many married women go and promise offerings (*sesa*) for next year when they may be bestowed with sons. The celebration of the New Year day is believed to be celebration of the birth of the river-god, for such a day came to acquire an independent ritualistic observance (*Bij* or New Moon day). It is observed by ladies by fasting as on all the days that are sacred to the river-god.

The river then which was considered to be the cause of everything in the world came to be believed as possessing the will of a supernatural being; and as it came to occupy the thoughts of its worshippers more and more, a distinct human shape was attributed to it. He has been invoked on several occasions, the last being in the beginning of the Muslim period when his last incar-

nation was born in Lower Sind on New Year day in 1007 of the Vikram era. In the beginning of the 11th century when Markh was ruler of Thatta, the Hindus were persecuted by the Mohammedans. The king desired a single religion for the whole country and proclaimed that all Hindus should embrace Islam and that in case they disobeyed they would be punished with death and their property confiscated. The Hindus astonished at this order gathered at one place and after consultations they sent a deputation to wait upon the king to secure religious freedom. The king however refused this but gave them respite of three days. They gathered on the river bank and offered solemn prayers for three days at the close of which they heard a voice from the river crying, "After eight days I shall be born at Nasarpur and my name shall be Uderolal." Then their leader Thakur Pugar Rai offered prayers when he heard the sound of a whirlpool in the midstream from where emerged a golden and jewelled cradle in which the river-god was seen rocking in the form of a fascinating child. Then after usual worship they returned to their home and communicated the fact to the king who agreed to wait for some days. After eight days the river-god named Uderolal or Darya-lal (the Red Indus) or Amarlal as he is often called, was born to Devki Mata wife of Ratan Rai, Thakur of Arora caste at Nasarpur in the evening of Friday, the New Year day of 1007 of the Vikram era. "The baby was a remarkable one; after a few moments it became a youth, then a black-bearded, and again an old white-bearded man." On learning this the king and his Vazir named Ohio "summoned him to Thatta, but instead of following the Vazir he suddenly appeared from the river at Thatta at the head of an armed regiment, which however he commanded to return to the river. He was then brought before the king, who tried to obtain his help to convert the Hindus, but he declined, saying that Turks and Hindus were alike to god. Then at his Vazir's advice the king tried to arrest Uderolal, but no one could catch him as he changed his form now to air, now to water." On this the king told the Hindus that their god had run away and it was good for them to convert themselves to Islam. Thereupon the Hindus prayed once more and found a river-temple on the bank of the Indus in which was a perpetually burning lamp. "The king then proceeded with the forcible conversion of the Hindus, where-

on Uderolal ordered the fire to destroy the town; the king then repented, begged pardon and Uderolal insisted on perfect freedom of worship of all."

The river-god Uderolal is represented in two forms, one as sitting with crossed legs on a fish (Clupea ilisha) and the other as a warrior or king of the river riding on a horse. In his former shape he is represented in human form sitting on the tamarassa flower spread over the sable fish. He sits with crossed legs, reading the sacred text in his hands and having a rosary in his right hand. He wears moustache and white long beard and wears a crown with a peacock feather at the top and has a red vertical sectarian mark on the forehead. The river is also called Darya Shah or the "river-king," and in that form he is represented as a young warrior riding a horse and having a sword in the right hand and a flag in the left. He wears a plume like hat and is usually represented as at the head of a regiment. He is usually represented as an infant god as he achieved his mission when he was only a few days old. When the people had gathered to invoke him Thakur Pugar Rai had seen a golden and jewelled cradle emerging from midstream and since then a cradle which hangs in the river temple is rocked by the devotees.

His vehicle, the fish (*palla*) which is rarely found beyond the Sukkur island temple of the river-god, never shows its tail to the shrine unless it gives a round and is back again and "The intelligent and reverential fishes always retired with the rigid court ceremonies adopted when approaching it [the temple]". As the river-king his vehicle is the horse. It is venerated at Pir Patho and Pir Mangho near Karachi. Offerings are promised to the crocodiles which lie in a tank in numbers and a kid is usually sacrificed on the achievement of a desired end. They have a chief amongst them who bears a red sectarian mark on his forehead, and no offering is accepted by them unless their chief has eaten. The mosque (built in square form) said to be 2000 years old is dedicated to Pir Haji Mangho who is esteemed as a saint by both the Hindus and the Mohammedans alike.

The first river-temple (Than) was miraculously built at Thatta by Uderolal with a perpetual light in it. When Uderolal disap-

peared from the palace of king of Thatta, people returned to the Indus for help and to their astonishment they found this temple standing on the bank of the Indus. With the disappearance of Uderolal, the temple also disappeared, but the people have since constructed a temple on that place under the name of Khado. Another important temple situated in Nasarpur, the place of his birth, was built by his parents and placed under the charge of Uderolal who preached worship of water and light, but his most important temples are at Uderolal and Sukkur. At the age of 12 Uderolal formed his sect and wanted to found a temple for which he wished to purchase the plot from a Mohammedan, who first desired to seek advice from his wife and left Uderolal in the full blaze of the sun; but when he returned, he found that a large tree had grown up to shade Uderolal. The Mohammedan gave the land gratis to Uderolal, who, striking the ground and bringing forth diamonds and rubies for the Mohammedan, was swallowed by the ground along with his horse. The king then guided by a voice heard at night, built a mausoleum and the Hindus built another at an adjoining place. The lamps are lit and maintained by the Hindus, and the Mohammedans collect the offerings. The holy tree exists, and no common person is allowed to touch it. Its seeds are a cure for sonlessness. A fair is held on the first day of *Chet* (March-April) to which followers come from Sind, Kutch and Punjab. This temple is the sacred temple of Daryapanthis all over Sind, Kutch and Punjab and is situated within a fort. There is a golden mausoleum of the river-god and a huge fair is held on the New Year's day.

Another important temple (Zindah Pir) or Khwaja Khizir as called by his Muslim followers, is at Sukkur where Uderolal appeared from the rock after his disappearance at Jhijhan-jo-goth. "This island shrine a picturesque feature of the river at Sukkur, was built by Shah Hassan whose harem, king Dalurai was determined to appropriate. The Muslim who was on his way to Mecca prayed for deliverance to Khwaja Khizir, who directed him in a vision to unmoor his boat. The river Mehran changed its course for the present bed; and Shah Hassen built a shrine in gratitude to Khwaja Khizir." According to another account, a shepherd, Baji whose hut was located at the place

where the town of Rohri stands saw at night a bright flame burning at a distance. Thinking that travellers had burnt a fire, he sent his wife to get a light, but as fast as she pursued, the light receded further. Thinking his wife was afraid, he himself went there, but the light still proved as illusive as before. So he was filled with fear and constructed a temple which was then encircled against the rock at Rohri, and Bhai Parmanand and the boat-man who were in the boat invoked Uderolal who emerged from the mid-stream sitting with crossed legs on the *palla* (fish). Both of them were saved and they built the shrine at Sukkur. According to religious tradition Uderolal dived along with Pugar Rai at Jhijhan-jo-goth and appeared near Sukkur through the island and hence light is kept in the cave where thousands of people used to come. During the annual *Chaliho* fair, the Hindus locked the doors of the holy place of Zindah Pir and allowed only a caretaker to enter the cave who was prescribed in his movements, and approached the shrine swimming on an earthen pot with his eyes bandaged. On dispute the Hindus built another temple of Zindha Pir opposite to the original shrine on the right bank. A persian inscription gives its date to be 952 A D.

When Uderolal returned from Hinglaj to Karachi, he stayed in Manora island built a temple which continues to exist, though *the original one was built within the military fort, where great* fairs were held on the New Moon days in *Chet* and *Asu*. Besides, temples were constructed wherever Daryapanthis lived in sufficient number.

The river is worshipped in two forms, namely, water and light. Water worship consists in grain oblations (*akho*) to the river deity at a well, tank, or canal or even before a water jar. Water (*dat*) is taken from the tank or canal and drunk thrice and the worship is concluded by holding out the skirt in devotion of the water deity reciting the prayers for obtaining his grace. The worship of light consists in burning of the perpetual light and paying homage to it.

The days sacred to the river god are celebrated by people with great jubilation. They are the New Year day, the New

Moon days of the months of *Asu* and *Poh*, and the days when the sun enters the signs of Cancer and Capricorn. The people take out *bahranas* as on the New Year day and sing five-line poems (*Pangra*) in praise of the river-god accompanied with music and dance (*chhej* or inundation) and beating drum sticks in a round in the midst of which the local musicians play. The *bahranas* are taken to a famous temple or some spot on the river or pond and put into water. The people perform important sacred rites such as tonsure and wearing of sacred thread and offerings were promised for fulfilment of desired events.

Uderolal who preached this cult through Pugar Rai gave him seven objects for starting the sect namely lamp, signifying the form in which he is worshipped, the priestly dress, a huge metallic vessel (deg) for boiling rice for distribution, a sword for protection, as he emerged from river as a warrior with a sword in his hand, a water pot (*jhari*) from which water is taken and drunk or sprinkled for purification, a drum-stick for performing *chhej* dance and finally the *darbh* grass. Every Daryapanthi has a religious preceptor, a member of the Thakur caste. He pays to the preceptor on all ceremonial occasions and performs all the rites which generally relate to promotion of fertility and safe bearing of the child. The red (*lal*) inundations after which the deity is named, prescribe the colour of ceremonial clothes which symbolise fertility and prosperity. The rising waves in the inundating waters are identified with the dancing of the river deity (Jhule Lal) and is symboilsed in the *chhej* (inundation) dance which accompanies all river celebrations.

In the sphere of religion one more sect which attracts our attention is Vaishnavism. The term Vaishnav in Sind means only a "vegetarian" which seems to indicate the old distinction between the Vaishnavites and Shaivites that the former were vegetarians while the latter indulged in drink and meat. The Sindhi, generally speaking, is not a Shaiva, but a Vaishnava, though the use of mutton is quite common. The Bhatias are, principally Vaishnavas while the members of the other castes are either worshippers of Darya or Nanik Panthis or both. Though their outward faiths have considerably altered, they are Vaishnavas

as they claim descent from Rama or Krishna, the two important incarnations of Vishnu and revere the Brahmin and the cow. They wear the triple cord and perform marriage by walking round the sacred fire. The Ganges is their most sacred river and they throw bones of the dead into it. Their places of pilgrimage are Hardwar, Gaya, Jagannath, Dwarka, Ayodhya, Badri Narain, Pushkar, Mathra, Prayag, Rameshwar and the like. Their sectarian mark is different from that of the Shaivite. They apply one or more upright marks of the celebrated clay (*gopichandan*) and their rosary consists of the white seeds of the Tulsi plant or the brown coloured beads of sandal wood. The chief divisions of Vaishnavas are the Vallabhachari, the Ramanandi, and the Swami Narayan sects, the first comprising the Sindhi Vaishnavas such as all Pushkarnas, a few Sarswats, all Bhatias, some Khatris and Lohanas who also profess Darya or Nanik shahi faiths. They are followers of Vallabha Swami, who preached (circa 1320 A.D.) a somewhat erotic form of Vishnu worship divorced from the idea of mortification of the flesh, their worship being addressed to Krishna whose image (Thakur) is bathed, clothed and presented with flowers, fruit and cooked food.

The principal god of this cult is Vishnu or Narayan, who is represented as reclining on a cobra in deep waters and from whose navel rises the Tamarassa flower. He appeared from time to time for preservation of the human race and is therefore generally worshipped in his incarnate forms of Rama and Krishna. There were no special temples dedicated by the Sindhis to this god, except one big temple at Shikarpur under the management of Bairagis who belonged to Ramanandi sect. He is identified with a stone (*saligram*), a sort of fossilized shell, ammonite, or nautilus, oval, straited, and ornamented with tree like markings on the outside. It is believed to be a metamorphosis of Vishnu and is therefore offered daily worship There was no special temple dedicated to it among the Sindhis and was kept in a wall recess or a place where other images of Vishnu (Thakurs) and his incarnates were placed. It is worshipped along with the other deities and is bathed, clothed and fed when other deities are worshipped in the temple.

Laxmi or the consort of Vishnu, the goddess of wealth, is represented with four arms on the lotus flower, a symbol of creation. She is worshipped on the night of lamp festival (*dyari*) when the merchant class people call a Brahmin at the auspicious hour and perform the Laxmi worship as it brings riches and wealth to her votaries. The other festival celebrated in honour of this goddess is called "Maha Laxmi" which falls on the eighth day of the waning moon in the month of *Asu* (September-October) and consists in the wearing and untying of a cotton thread (*sagro*) round the wrist. Sixteen days earlier, on the eighth day of the rising moon, it is tied by all members of the family, the unmarried wearing two threads. It generally consists of sixteen yellow cotton threads bound by sixteen knots. On the night of Mahalaxmi, the people go to the house of a Brahmin priest, some with accompaniment of music, if a happy promised event has happened, where the priest prepares from clay the image of Raja Mangli seated on horse back and followed by his servant Bheru Bhetro. Nearby are placed the images of partridges. The people then hold in their hands each a fried flour cake, a fried sweet flour partridge and a few leaves of grass or Elesine Aegyptiaca (*chhabar*) and hear the Brahmin narrating the story of Raja Mangli who had two queens of whom the better loved threw the thread (*sagro*) of Maha Laxmi in the horse stable. A maid servant who found the thread gave it to the other queen who on wearing it began to be loved more than the other who was ultimately deserted and driven out by the king. The much hated queen wandered in the jungle and wherever she went she brought calamity till a jogi found out the secret; and by tying the thread of Maha Laxmi to her he got her married to the king again. After hearing the story the persons throw away the things over the image of Raja Mangli.

Just as Vishnu is identified with Saligram, so his consort Laxmi is also identified with Tulsi or the basil plant. Its marriage is celebrated every year with Saligram in the sacred *Kartik* month. Many people, specially Brahmins and temple-keepers, cultivate the plant in their houses and offer it daily prayers. It is usually planted on a square pillar as it is a peculiarly meritorious act to carefully water and cultivate the

plant. It is specially worshipped by women who light a lamp at its root in the evening. When a person dies, pieces of Tulsi branches are put in the mouth of the dead along with clarified butter and other articles on the cremation ground before setting fire to it. The leaves are never plucked with hand, but those that lay already fallen or which fall by shaking the branches of the plant are taken and swallowed without putting them under teeth. The ladies break the *Ekadashi* fast after watering the plant. God Vishnu is appeased by offering a branch of it to him at any time specially in the *Kartik* (October-November) month. There is only one festival associated with this plant in which its marriage with Saligram is celebrated.

The animal sacred to this cult is the cow. Even the cow-dung and its urine are considered to be sacred as the worship place is purified by besmearing it with cow-dung or even by sprinkling urine. Touching her tail with hand imparts magical efficacy. The cow is given in charity to a Brahmin at marriage or death. The couple hold its tail and pour water over it under the belief that after the death they will be safely conveyed beyond the river to the spirit world. On all sacred days of the Vaishnavites such as Ekadashi, Satyanarayan, Gopa Ashtami and others, people feed cotton seeds and flour balls to the cows. If any person falls ill, the women folk feed it and touch its tail with hand which they apply to the face of the sick person. All the Vaishnavite fasts are broken after the cows return from the jungle in the evening and are fed cotton seeds and flour balls. If any sinful act is done by a person, the highest fine that the Panchayat impose upon its member is to graze a cow and give a certain quantity of cotton seed to it for a particular period. The most sacred day to it is the Gopa Ashtmi or the "Cow's eighth" which falls on the eighth day of the bright half of the *Kartik* month. On this day it is worshipped; the people scatter red powder over it and apply it to its forehead and garland its horns with flowers Each cow is then fed with kneaded flour balls (*pera*), and obeisance done to her with the prayer, "O, cow mother, keep us happy"

The days sacred to Vishnu are observed with fasts. *Ekadashi* or the eleventh day of the moon is specially set apart for

the worship of Vishnu and those who worship him on this day ensure immortality to themselves. This day falls twice every month and is observed by all castes. The fast is observed for the whole day by taking bath early in the morning and pouring water over the Tulsi tree. Fruit is given to a Brahmin who applies sectarian mark on the forehead. On the next morning after bathing and pouring water over the Tulsi, a virgin or a Brahmin is fed and the fast is broken. Fast may be partial (*phalhari*) or full (*nirjal*). Hindus of all castes abstain from meat and drink and some avoid taking rice. There are two important fasts in the year, one falling in *Kartik* when Vishnu in the form of Saligram is married to Tulsi and the other *Beraghori* falling in the bright half of the month of *Phagun*, when berries are ripe for eating. Another special day for the worship of Vishnu is "Satnarayan" falling on the full moon day every month. In the afternoon when the cows return from the jungle, the worship of Satnarayan is performed by the Brahmin who prepares a square place and places the image of Satnarayan for worship. After worship he reads the sacred text (*katha*) of Satnarayan narrating the stories of the origin of this worship and the fruit acquired by reading it.

The bright half of the *Kartik* month is sacred to the Vaishnavites during which period Vishnu and Laxmi in all forms namely Saligram, Satnarayan, Tulsi, Cow and Ekadashi are worshipped. From the day of the New Moon to the Full Moon, people take bath much before the early dawn and attend the nearest temple where the sacred text (*Kartik Mahatam*) is read. During the whole period nobody takes mutton or fish. On the eighth day of the moon falls the sacred day of Gopashtami or 'Cow's eighth.' Fast is observed, and in the evening the people feed them with cotton seeds, flour balls and grass. In Sind they used to walk round the whole village and held dust in their faces that rose from the feet of cows. They are worshipped and their horns and necks are garlanded and they are allowed to graze freely without restraint. From the next morning begin two great festivals called "Novmis" and "Tulsis." They last for three days beginning with the ninth day of the moon (*Novmi*) to the eleventh day of the moon (*Ekadashi*). *Novmis* are observed only by virgins and children, while Tulsis are

observed by married women. During the whole period of the three days, fast is observed by them and after taking bath in the early morning they pour water over the Tulsi tree. They hear *arti* at the house of the Brahmin daily till *Ekadashi* On the tenth day of the moon some women observe fast for two days (*akhand*). They burn oil lamps in the house of a Brahmin and keep them burning night and day. In Sind huge fairs were held in every town and village where the people gathered round an *Aura* tree. Every family feeds its Brahmin priest with sweets or fruits and gives him some money. Money is also given to all other religious mendicants. Then they walk round the sacred *Aura* tree three times pouring water on it all the while. Cows are fed with cotton-seeds and grass. On this day also is celebrated the marriage of Saligram with Tulsi by those who observe the Tulsi festival. They prepare a place of marriage and in the centre of which they place the Tulsi tree. At its root is kept the Saligram, bathed and clothed and with sectarian mark applied to it. Opposite to it, the husband and wife sit on two different wooden seats. The Brahmin performs the marriage ceremony of the couple as usual which by extension of idea is taken as marriage of Saligram with Tulsi. Those who observe Tulsis, water it daily after bath during the whole period till the marriage is celebrated. But this marriage is never performed until this festival has been observed for three years. From the day of *Ekadashi* another fasting period begins, namely Bikham which ends on the sixth day after the full moon and is observed by fasting in similar manner.

Rama and Krishna are the two hero incarnates of Vishnu through whom generally all the Sindhis except the Brahmins claim descent. Rama is more widely worshipped as most of the castes specially the Lohanas claim descent from him "Ram, Ram" is their salutation. The Bhatia caste is however specially devoted to Krishna. There were many Rama temples (*mandirs*) in Sind, the most important of them being at Shikarpur in the charge of Ramanandi sect of Bairagis. Rama's image is presented with bow and an arrow in its arms, and the images of Sita and Lachhman are usually placed by its sides There may also be found other small deities specially Hanuman, and Saligram Daily prayers and flowers are offered to the gods, and

the temple priest after early bath burns incense and applies sectarian marks to the deities. The temple priests of important temples were generally Bairagis.

Certain festivals connected with this god are alsó observed by the Sindhis. His birthday (Ram Nomi) falls on the ninth day of the moon in the bright half of the month of *Chet* and is celebrated by hearing the *Ramayan* and giving fruits and eatables to the Brahmin priest. Another feast connected with this deity is the *Dassahra* festival when after the sunset the people collect at a river or canal bank and perform the worship of *Kandi* (Prosopis Spicigera) tree, on the tenth day of the waning moon in the month of Asu. The people who gather round the *Kandi* tree artificially planted on a canal bank, walk round it while the Brahmin priest reads incantations. They throw parched grain jowar round the tree while walking round it. Then after distributing coins to Brahmins and members of religious orders, the people take some mud from the place where the sacred tree is planted as a spoil of war. The gold which was looted in Lanka by Ram on the day of his victory. The Sindhi children perform the tonsure-ceremony on the *Dassahra* night at the place where the *Kandi* tree is worshipped. This day is celebrated by burning a huge image of Ravan with explosives. The lamp festival (*Dyari*) is more important for the Lohana trading communities as they worship and invoke Laxmi or the goddess of wealth and open new accounts on the first night of the festival. It is however celebrated by all classes of people with great joy and splendour. They worship the goddess in their houses also before toy shops and a geometrical design (*putras*) drawn with lime or red colour in the main room. After meals they burn the Juari stalks (*Melhawan*) two for each male member of the family with rags covered at the top and dipped in oil. While placing the burning *Melhawan* against a wall they throw parched Jowar grain over them and cry out "with the lighting of the Dyari lamps, every pusescent cucumber big and small becomes sweet." This suggests that it was partly associated with the cereal crops as they become ready for harvest in this season.

Another smaller deity connected with this god is Hanuman or the monkey-god. His birthday (Hanuman-Jayanti) falls on the full moon day of *Chet.* His small temples generally exist near Ram temples or his image may be seen installed below the idols of Ram, Laxman and Sita. Tuesday is his sacred day. A huge flour cake (*Rota*) is prepared and offered to this deity after bathing it and applying red powder to it. Much red powder is thrown over it and after feeding the deity it is distributed the temple-keeper to all those who are present.

Krishna, the other hero incarnate of Vishnu, is worshipped by all Sindhis though his worship is especially confined to Bhatias, who claim descent from him. His temples called Thakurdwaras were found in almost all the important towns especially where Bhatias were in large numbers. The image of Krishna called Thakur is installed in the temple and is daily bathed, clothed, and is offered flowers, fruits and cooked food. The most important festival celebrated by the Vallabhacharis is Janma-Ashtami which is none-the-less observed by many other Hindus with equal solemnity. This day falls on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of *Savan* and is observed with fast and prayers in a Krishna temple After moon rise, they take bath and offer water and milk to the moon and eat flour-cakes and other preparations. Another day celebrated by this sect is the Gita Jayanti

There was only one religious order of Vaishnavites in Sind namely Bairagi. It is a religious order of mendicants who profess to have estranged themselves from the interests of mankind and do not therefore form a hereditary sect and admit members of any Hindu caste. They are divided as Bindi and Nadi, the former allowing its members to marry and the latter abjuring marriage.[4] They are vegetarians and live on charity

Another religious group worth mentioning is the Nanikshahis Bulk of the Lohanas call themselves Nanikshahis, their faith being a blend of the religion of Guru Nanik and ancient Hindu faiths. Like the Indus cult and Sufism, it is an idolless and casteless faith and was introduced in Sind by immigrants from the Punjab. It is a modified form of Sikhism Sikhs may be

however found among the Sindhis. The Namdhari Sikhs had their greatest temple in Sind at Kandhra in the Sukkur district, but the Labana Sikhs who are engaged in rope making occupations have their temples similar to those of Akalis known as Akal Bhungo at Karachi and Hyderabad, where no Hindu *shastras* were read. They add Singh to their names, let their hair grow and wear the iron bracelet. In their temples especially the sacred cake called Kanaha Sahab is made, on which, after blessings, Guru Nanik used to leave the impress of his five fingers (*panja*). There are also Amil Sikhs; but most of the Amils are Nanikshahis, though some of them still let the hair grow and wear a bracelet. They also have an underwear like the more orthodox Sikhs who in addition insert a comb in their hair. Being a liberal faith it was more suitable to the people of Sind and the Amils welcomed it as it did not object to the rigidities of living. But they however did not strictly follow their faith, and evolved a common faith which recognised Hinduism as superior to it.

The Nanikpanth which is a modified form of Sikhism has two sects namely Udasi and Bhai or Jagiasi. The former descends from Srichand who lived an unmarried life and therefore they do not marry, and perpetuate their religious seats by installing the senior disciples. Most of the important temples of Nanikpanth in Sind were in the charge of Udasis, the temple of Sadhbelo being the most important.

The Bhai or Jagiasi are recruited from the Lohana. Masands (Jagiasis) were originally the Vazirs of the gurus. In their temple (Tikano) is placed the sacred text Granth Saheb with a cradle hanging by the side. It is rocked by the disciples when the sacred text is placed in it. "Most of the disciples who are generally Lohanas perform no daily worship whatever, but the more religious repair in the morning to the Tikano, where they read a verse or two from the Adi Granth of which they repeat at home the portions known as the Japgi and Sukhmani. In the evening they attend once more at the Tikana and listen to a reading and exposition by the Bawa or priest, of the Bhagwat, Ramayan or other Hindus shastras. They venerate Rama and Krishna and other deities of the Hindu pantheon but cannot be

classed with the Vaishnavas or any other of the ancient sects of Hinduism. On the other hand, though followers of the Sikh Guru, they have not been baptized into the Sikh communion, nor are they strict observers of the ordinances of that faith. While ordinarily dispensing with the worship of the Hindu gods, they wear the sacred thread and observe all the Hindu rites and a Brahmin officiates at the ceremonies connected with their births, marriages and deaths."[5]

[1] Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 184.
[2] Burton, *Scinde*, Vol. I, p. 122.
[3] Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, p. 93.
[4] Aitken, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

CHAPTER V

SPIRIT WORLD

Religion bases itself largely on the conception of life of the dead. Death is regarded only as a physical phenomenon and beyond it is supposed to survive the soul in a shadowy form with all human desires and sentiments, and on death the spirit of the deceased hovers round the body trying to re-enter it. The body is taken with its feet towards the house and head in the direction of the crematory, suggesting that the spirit hovering round the body may have yet the chance of returning. But before cremation, the body is first taken to a place outside the cremation ground (*thikrato*) where the bier is placed and water is poured three times round it. An axe is placed on the side of its head and a water-pot is broken against the axe-head to warn the spirit that it should no longer hover round the body. Another interpretation of breaking the water-pot against the axe is that it is a mere survival of the old custom of breaking the skull with an axe in order to release the spirit which might still be confined in the body. After warning the spirit, the bier is taken with its feet in the direction of the crematory; and having lost its hopes of re-entering the body, the spirit returns to the place of death. Such a place is the hearth or side of the cooking place where probably his or her placenta was buried on birth and his or her body was placed before removal to the crematory. The principal corpse-bearer who performs all the funeral rites of the dead, burns a big earthen lamp representing the spirit of the dead near the cooking place. The lamp is burnt with ghee for two days and two nights without break under the care of corpse-bearers and is removed on the morning of the third day after bones and ashes of the dead are collected and packed for being thrown into the sacred river. The light of the lamp indicates the spirit which

hovers round the hearth for three days in search of its body and may wander in the house till the performance of its last funeral rites on the eleventh day. Thereafter it leaves the house for the land of the dead (*pitrilok*).

The journey to the land of the dead is full of hardships. The safe vehicle for this is the mother-goddess cow. Every Sindhi during his life time gives a cow in charity to a Brahmin so that he may be safely conveyed by clinging to its tail beyond the Indus where the land of the dead is supposed to be. This land, according to the conception of the ancients, lies at the farthest south where the Indus itself disappears and the body of the dead is placed on the pyre its feet pointing to the south only. However *the spirits return on the Full Moon day in the month of Bhado* across the river on boats floated for them by their descendants two days earlier (on the *Bana Badhri* day) as the waters have then receded. They enjoy the feasts offered to them on the corresponding days of their departure from their old households after a male member of the family has peformed the *pinda* (sacred cake) ceremonies. On *umavas* or the day of the dead when the moon completely wanes beyond the Indus the *shradh* ceremonies are performed for all the dead ancestors. On the evening, their leave is taken by placing a big wheat cake outside the house on earth plastered with cow-dung, and burning four or more cornered lamps made of wheat-flour paste, often as many as the number of the dead each light representing one departed soul. After making grain oblations to them, the family members pay homage to them and throw the cake and lamps in a water tank. And if the spirit appears in dream in a needy state, wandering without food or dress, a Brahmin or a virgin is fed and clothes are given to them supposing that through them the needy spirit is fed and clothed.

The crow which takes a rapid flight is also taken to be a fit carrier of food to the world beyond the Indus Therefore, it is fed first of all on all the funeral feasts and *shradha* ceremonies or even every day in the name of the ancestors. By extension of this idea, the bird is identified with a messenger who comes from far off place to inform of the happy tidings If a crow caws from a house-top the housewife makes it fly after offering a sweet

cake and if it makes a response, some happy tiding or a letter is expected sure to be received.

But the evil spirits which cannot forget the old associations are believed to hover round certain places or even make permanent abodes in ruined spots. Their usual abode lies in the grave yards or crematories where their bodies have perished or yet lie buried inside. Old and ruined houses or old trees which are usually filled with an atmosphere of awe and mystery are haunted by them. Places where some accident has occurred may also be considered as a haunted spot. They even follow the rules of caste, as many of them are Gosain or Sanyasi, Dhed, Mochi, Sochi and also Muslim. There may be many more castes with as much caste-rigidity as in the world of men, but the above castes are more distinguished because of their connections with the mortals. The Gosain are the saintly spirits who guide men properly and come under the control of saints for good of the humanity. The Mochi and Sochi are very revengeful castes, but most dreaded of them all, is the Dhed. It is supposed to have no preceptor (*guru* or *pir*) and therefore there is no charm or remedy against its revengeful deeds. It troubles the mortals frequently and can be driven out only after a great effort by an expert (Bhopo), and even when once the Dhed was forcibly driven out by a Bhopo, his son was killed by a group (Panchayat) of Dhed spirits under a leader whom they faithfully obey.

They supposedly eat and drink like men, perform excretary functions, possess all human appetites and often dress themselves in fine dresses. They take fruit and even flesh and liquor though they do not feed upon the corpses. They can get dresses and ornaments by magic but not food as the magic-power does not last more than half an hour (*sava ghari*) and as the absence of food would not bring them strength, very often they resort to thefts. They perform sexual functions and possess even ethical standards. They look like children peculiar with long hair and only four fingers on each hand. They are invisible like air but can appear at will. They may take revenge upon anybody by causing harassment or some mysterious disease or by possession, the last method being adopted mainly for satisfaction of sexual appetite. They quarrel with mortals as the latter interfere with their

rights or enjoyments. They feel angry if any person passes urine or stools on their abode or disturb them in the dark night when they are free to play, or if a woman during the tabooed period of monthly course passes by them. They also become angry if any person cuts off branches of a tree on which they dwell or if he violates any rites to which they are otherwise entitled. They may quarrel out of fun or come to take revenge upon those who were their enemies when living. They may harass by suddenly becoming visible or by taking different forms. They may take the form of an old woman or a child or a lamp burning and passing through air. The usual incidents related are of travellers who see the lighted lamps passing by them or of a cloth when picked up growing to an endless length. The haunted houses often suffer calamities or fire and brickbats are thrown in the house for hours together and sometimes utensils or other belongings disappear from the house.

But the most important method used by them for taking revenge or satisfying the sexual desire is in the phenomenon of possession. They possess the desirable person through whom they satisfy their requirements. Such spirits cannot possess powerful persons or saints who rather control them at will. If the reason for such possession is gratification of sexual desires, it may possess a person of the opposite sex. A female spirit may take the form of a girl and fascinate a male or even develop sexual jealousy and disable him or his wife permanently. If he leaves her displeased, the medium becomes sick or insane. A woman may be possessed by a male spirit if she passes near its abode during the tabooed period of monthly course; and if a bride or a bridegroom moves outside the house during the tabooed (*vanvah*) period on commencement of the marriage rites, they are likely to be possessed by spirits specially when they are not accompanied by their guides (*ainars*) appointed for the purpose. A woman bathing naked, specially in a tank or canal is likely to be possessed by a male spirit. A person may also be possessed if he or she sits in the open on the Dassahra night when the fairies pass through the sky for taking bath in their water pond. A spirit may also possess its enemy when living, in order to bring trouble to him and his family. The time facili-

tating possession by spirits is usually midday in summer or after midnight when all persons are fast asleep.

There are definite symptoms in the possessed personality, for, many of the diseases for which no apparent reason can be assigned, such as fits of unconsciousness, epilepsy, insanity and other forms of mental disorder cannot be cured by charms or other magical rites; they can be cured only by driving out the spirit from the possessed personality by the expert mediums Bhopo or the great living saints who possess knowledge of the spirit world. They control powerful spirits who may be called at will and ordered to drive out the evil spirits from the possessed personalities. Such saints often possess powerful spirits in their walking sticks which are burnt along with the saints after their death. The method of dispossession by a magical formula adopted by a Bhopo or the medium is acquired by him by constant practice (*sadhna*) on special occasions by incantations, charms and other austerities. On acquiring the mediumistic powers he controls powerful spirits who can drive out the evil spirit from the possessed personality after falling into a particular state of mediumistic trance. The procedure adopted by the Bhopo is one of hypnotic suggestion. At any time, preferably on the night of Friday or a Full Moon day, the place of seance is cleansed and the atmosphere purified by burning incense. The Bhopo, the subject and his family members sit in an atmosphere of calm when the Jajik plays on his violin and raises the emotions of the subject. Drink is administered to the subject to bring him into a state of mediumistic trance for it is the spirit which requires large quantities of liquor.

The communication with the spirit by the Bhopo is possible when the subject acquires an abnormal state of mind and begins to swing his head (*jhulan*). If the subject is a female, her hair is untied and undressed. If the subject is not mesmerised into trance, the Bhopo himself drinks in large quantities, unties his long hair and swings his head forward and backward to the accompaniment of music of the violin. If the subject is induced hypnotically the Bhopo begins to put questions to the subject. The spirit or the secondary personality that dominates the will of the subject, responds to the Bhopo as rapport is now esta-

blished between them. If the subject fails to be induced, the Bhopo himself in a state of trance can give the replies; and if the subject or the spirit possessing the subject refuses to speak the Bhopo may strike his head against the spirit and force it to speak, or the spirit may be frightened to speak by beating it with a stick or it may be driven out by placing a red hot iron rod on its head. The Bhopo requests the spirit to relate the reason of possessing the subject and to state the conditions for dispossession. The spirit relates the whole story as to who he is and why he has possessed and if any of its desires is to be fulfilled mentions the means or the performance of any magical rite, and promises to leave after due fulfilment of the contract. It may promise to leave the person on certain conditions such as that it would possess the subject every Friday or only once a month or even once a year or it may agree to stay for six months more and leave the person thereafter for ever. Somė spirit may decline to leave the body and then it is severely beaten or a more powerful Bhopo is called to drive out the spirit with the aid of a strong spirit. If it agrees to leave the person it will give the indication of going away such as crying like a cock or throwing down a water jar. In this mediumistic trance when the communication by the spirit is made through automatic speech, the medium by his power of telepathic reception may fortell the future to many women who gather round the subject, relating to the begetting of sons and the possible remedies for cure of diseases.

The spirits whether living in the land of the dead or wandering in this world, reincarnate in human, animal or tree form. Not only do they come in the form of snakes to guard the buried treasures but they even directly pass into the womb and be born again. If the child is born shortly after death of an old or dear member of the family and bears marked resemblance to the person deceased, the soul, it is said, has surely reincarnated itself. Infants under the age of two and a half years are therefore not burnt, but buried with the belief that they will soon return to the family, and therefore they are wrapped in a red cloth before burial, for, the red colour as shown elsewhere, is symbolic of fertility. The reincarnation may be even immediate if the head or an old person of the family dies and a child is born soon after death. The return however may be postponed till a suitable body

has been found. The spirit may return in the same sex to the same family unless it is the spirit of an old man of the clan. Normally the return is postponed till the termination of the period of his stay in the world of spirits after enjoying the fruits of his deeds. Its fate depends mainly upon the correct performance of the rites in the absence of which the spirit may wander in misery and appear in dreams of its relatives asking for proper performance of the rites afresh.

It is no wonder then that the ancestor-worship should remain even to this day as the principal aspect of the religion of the people. Besides the annual *shradh* ceremonies, on every *umavas* or the day of the dead the spirits may be worshipped by ways of water and light on the river or canal banks, and may be fed after the expiry of five months from the date of death or for some years on their anniversaries. The funeral cake is offered every year to the three direct ascendants unless it has been offered with a special ceremony at Gaya. Some persons, particularly of the ascetic orders, may bury ashes of the dead at some spot in the house compound and construct a *devri* (temple) or a place for burning light which represents the dead. The construction of the *devri* in a house niche or cellar without burying the ashes, has remained as a common feature in many of the rural Sindhi families. A light is regularly kept burning and homage is paid to the spirit and even grain oblations are made to it. From the family worship of the dead ancestors there is a transition to the worship of saints of great repute who have their temple (*samadhi*) constructed by their descendants or followers where their ashes or even some bones are buried and the light kept burning for paying regular homage.

The Sindhis claim descent either from Ram, Krishna, the gurus, Uderolal or the mother goddess (*Maipota*). With the growth of a higher conception of god-head on lapse of centuries, the dead ancestors were raised to the status of gods as the originators of their cults, or were identified as incarnations of the gods of the already widely followed cults.

After ancestor spirits come the nature spirits, of whom the sun is the greatest, greatest also of all the sky deities, for the

Sindhis are mainly Suryavanshi or the children of the sun. Sunday is sacred to the sun-god and the first Sunday of every month is celebrated by closing all business and worshipping at the temples The days when the sun enters the signs of cancer and capricorn as also the New Year day were celebrated on the river or canal banks specially at Sukkur, the important pilgrim place of the Sindhis. Its worship consists in offering water and grain oblations to the river or canal for it emerges from the Indus every morning. No temple is dedicated to it except at Multan, an important town of Medieval Sind on the Indus, where *the sun god is worshipped. There is no image of sun-god in*stalled near the sun-pool at Laki in Dadu district where the sun is supposed to emerge from the pool every morning. The dead body on the pyre must hold the rays of the sun before it is cremated. The day of Solar eclipse as also the Lunar eclipse is observed by fast during the eclipse period and alms to Chhanchhari Brahmins and Chandals are given as the Brahmins would accept the same after the eclipse is over. After the moon goddess is released the people take bath and touch the articles of food or clothing as otherwise they are liable to pollution by their touch.

Next in importance amongst the celestial bodies is the moon, which is closely associated with the river whose inundations it is supposed to control. The moon days namely the Full Moon, *umavas* and the New Moon are sacred to the Lohanas and Daryapanthis when the river is worshipped and homage is paid to the elders. Most of the important fasts and festivals of the Sindhis are observed and many of the sacred rites for which no time is fixed or could not be delayed till the auspicious days arrive are celebrated on these special days of the moon. So also the brides return to their parental or bridegroom's house after a long stay on the New or Full Moon days. The New Moon day or the Bij has an independent ritualistic observance which is observed by Daryapanthis on any day. On this day of the New Moon some people take a string from an old cloth and showing it to the moon they say: "take this old, and give us a new one." Milk is not used for drinking in the moonlight *without offering it to the moon-goddess If the umavas falls on* a Monday or the day of the moon, it is considered as very sacred

for it is observed with rites. If it is not visible before the third day of its waning, it is very bad to see it on the fourth day because if any person so happens to see it, he or she is likely to be involved in a trouble by false and defamatory stories. Like the sun she also has no temples dedicated to her and is worshipped by grain oblations to the river or by offerings of water. The fasts which are broken after sun-set are concluded with water oblations to the moon-goddess.

The minor celestial deities, the planets, must however be worshipped along with the sun and the moon before commencing any important ritual, for each planet produces bad or good effect on everybody according to the time of his birth. The prescribed rites or taboos must be observed therefore to counteract the evil effect of the planets. Saturn is the most dangerous among them all. It resides in the 'pipal' tree which is widely worshipped by the Sindhis who pour water over it on Saturdays after taking a bath. It has a separate religious order, the Chhanchhari or the untouchable Brahmins who live by mendicancy on Saturdays, or the days of lunar and solar eclipse. On every Saturday, they place the image of Saturn-god in a vessel, pour oil in it as to immerse the image and carry the pot from door to door and those who see the image of this deity pay the price to the Chhanchhari Brahmin.

Fire is not only worshipped in temples in the form of light by the Daryapanthis, or is identified with spirits during funeral rites or by construction of *devris* (temples) or by showing reverence at the time of lighting the lamps at evening or by celebrating the lamp festival, but it is also worshipped in its usual form. It is not extinguished by blowing exhaled air towards it. A fire festival (*Lal Loi*) is celebrated during the Holi festivals when people burn fires in almost every junction of streets or roads for several hours in the evening for which people contribute fuel wood to keep it burning, some of them making grain oblations to it.

The natural springs are also associated with goddesses or other supernatural powers. In Sind there were two main spots where springs were attributed supernatural powers or even

identified with mother goddess. One such spot is at Laki which is a pilgrim place for the Sindhis who may visit the spring for the performance of funeral rites instead of going to Hardwar. The Mangho pir near Karachi is another sacred spring in which the sacred crocodiles abound. The temples constructed near the springs are among the ancient temples of Sind.

Next in importance to the nature spirits are the animal spirits, and except the sacred cow, most of the animals are appropriated as the gods' vehicles. Siva rides the bull, the mother-goddess the lion, the river god the fish, the small-pox goddess the donkey, while Bherav rides a dog. The witch however travels on the hyena. Animals being supposed to possess supernatural powers, several beliefs and superstitions have been associated with them. The placenta of a black cat brings riches to a person if it is placed in his house. The whining of a dog brings a calamity or an unforeseen danger, the house lizard defiles the person whom it happens to touch as it belongs to the Chuhra caste, the skin of a wolf or lion or the teeth of a hog are worn as amulets against fear of magic or as charms against the influence of evil spirits, the blue jay must be seen by people on the Dassahra day as it is believed to be auspicious, and the owl is believed to ruin seven localities in the vicinity of its nest or even the whole village, and must be killed wherever it is seen. The hedge-hog is believed to come out only on the night of Friday. If an Indian lizard (*varanus dracaena*) is seen, one should close one's mouth instantly, for, if it counts the teeth of the person, he may fall a prey to an unforeseen danger. The goat and the hen are of course the only sacrificial animals and no other animal or bird is sacrificed to a deity or an evil spirit.

No less important are the sacred trees and stones which are either identified or associated with various gods as shown in the religious cults. They are believed to possess a will to which supernatural activity is ascribed But even the supernatural beings including the gods react to "supernatural mechanical energy" or magic which may take the form of a charm, a curse, or an oath. One of the important beliefs in magic is that of witchcraft. It is a magical power acquirable by virgins during

the tabooed period of *vanvah* or three days before her marriage. She spins cotton yarn and weaves it within the period of a marriage rite (*dikh*) and prepares bodice (*kanjri*) from the woven cloth and wears it before her marriage is performed by the Brahmin. Its colour like that of the other marriage clothes is red. Silence and fast are observed during the period of the spinning, weaving and sewing which are finished within half an hour. The bodice thus prepared possesses magical power and if she removes it or any person tears it out, the woman loses all the magical powers.

She moves about only at night when all members of the family are fast asleep. She reads incantations over her husband so that he passes into an unconscious state till her return. She takes in her hand a brazen plate in which is placed a four cornered lighted lamp prepared from wheat flour. She applies red mark on her forehead and then wears the bodice. No sooner she has done this, her vehicle, the hyaena (*charakh*) comes and awaits her outside the house and her teeth become sharp and long. She comes out of her house with a lamp burning with ghee and rides the hyaena which is fed through a window till she has prepared herself for the journey. The witch is carried immediately to a graveyard as it runs almost with miraculous speed. She feeds upon the corpses in graveyards and indulges in sexual intercourse with her vehicle, the hyaena. She may kill any person she finds on the way as there appears to be no other special object for her acquiring the powers of a witch. After she returns to her house, the hyaena goes back and on removing the bodice she becomes an ordinary woman. The hyaena never comes to her in day time, for, wherever it is seen, the witch is also supposed to be present in its vicinity. It is therefore at once caught and killed and its teeth used as charms against fear. There are several methods of destroying or counteracting her magical powers. Her bodice may be torn to pieces by holding her all of a sudden. If a man stands naked before her she will not be able to touch him. It is also believed that if a piece of flesh is removed from her left heel, she will lose her magical powers. She possesses black teeth and has the habit of grating them in sleep. It is therefore considered inauspicious if a girl grates her teeth in sleep, but it is not a bad omen if a male

does so. If a woman possesses long upper teeth, she is compared to a witch and feared because the witch feeds upon the corpses. She possesses an evil eye and her curses come out awefully true. Some old women are often identified with witches and children are forbidden to pass by their houses or accept any eatables at their hands.

As the Bhopo is an expert at driving out the spirits, the *Jadugar* or magician is expert in the use of supernatural mechanical energy. The saint-magicians both living and dead who are numerous in all sects, are stronger than all other magicians. They cause the birth of children, specially in cases when the ages of parents show a physical impossibility, but on occasions of ingratitude the blessing with issues may be summarily withdrawn. They cure all kinds of diseases and complaints, both structural and functional simply by administering a drop of water to the patient. They 'show extraordinary feats such as saving a lost traveller,' or appearing in person at a distance to protect a friend against unseen danger. They possess the power of 'saving a person's life by directing the stroke of death to another quarter or of exercising dominion over birds, beasts, or fishes.' They possess occult and other miraculous powers such as changing the direction of a flood, restoring life to the dead, 'compelling inanimate objects to act as though they were endowed with a supernatural will, breaking through walls and doors in spite of fetters and even flying bodily to any place' and many more. They are generally found amongst Udasi or Sufi sects who have established a renowned *dargah* or religious seat (*gadi*). The ashes may be buried and memorials (*samadhis*) built and maintained with worship by the disciples. Even fairs are held at the temples and *samadhis* of these miraculous saints. There were numerous tombs of saints and *pirs* in Sind where the rural Hindus performed shaving ceremonies of their children and offered sacrifices.

An ordinary magician may be any person but generally he belongs to one or the other priestly caste, since the priests are supposed to possess magical powers. They prepare charms, amulets (*Rakhris*) for their disciples for begetting a son or curing a disease though it is not necessary that a person should

get a charm from an expert of his own cult. The ordinary magician may be a member of any caste as he possesses black magic. His curses are feared because they happen to come true and his evil eye on a person or a building brings ruin on them. He prepares charms and prescribes remedies for cure. They perform several rites and ceremonies for achievement of any object and their remedies for cure of diseases may combine at the same time both medicinal and magical rite.

There are a number of rites and taboos to bring about a desired event with or without the assistance or blessing of a spirit. The rites both purificatory and expiatory must be performed with strict accuracy. The spirits may be appeased by a prayer or a sacrifice, but the purely mechanical forms in which magic is frequently played are charms, curses and others. The curse "injures or destroys a person to whom it cleaves" and "contains the harm explicitly or implicitly that is likely to be inflicted on the person cursed." Though the most dreaded of all the curses are the curses of a dying father, mother and the spiritual preceptor, the curses of magicians and priests, of old persons, husbands, masters and dissatisfied guests are also supposed to be very dreadful and coming out true. The curse of the oppressed poor is also one of the most dreaded curses. It is often accompanied with a circumscribing line on earth (*dohi*) round a thing desired to be protected. The people, before burning the dead, draw similar circle with certain incantations around the fireplace so that no spirit, person or animal enters the circle and if any person or animal except the corpse-bearer enters the place charged with a curse the person or animal will die. It may take the form of self-subjection to severe infliction of pain. The Suthria who professes mendicancy begs from door to door by singing with the accompaniment of beating of drum, but if any person does not give them the customary alms they threaten him with self-infliction of pain, an act which is believed to be charged with a curse. The usual way of inflicting injuries is to strike a knobbed hammer or a big needle rod in one's forehead or some other delicate part of the body so that blood flows from the body. If he happens to die of this a calamity will befall the whole village. The Jogis or the snake-charmers catch the snakes specially the cobra species after charg-

ing them with a curse of their spiritual preceptor, Gogal Vir. Curses are often pronounced on thieves as means of protecting properties. The curses of Bhats are very much dreaded as they form a very revengeful caste and are hard in extracting money. The potency of a curse however is believed to depend upon the occasion and nature of a curse. If it comes from the agonized heart of a person subjected to severe injustice it is bound to affect even instantaneously. It also depends upon who the person pronouncing such a curse is. The curse of a dying person specially the father or mother acts without fail.

A person who swears binds himself with a risk or danger in the event the statement is false or the promise is not kept. No woman dares to swear in the name of her husband because it is the heaviest of all. The oaths may be taken usually in the names of god, the spiritual preceptor, the father or the mother. Oaths may be imposed by other persons for doing a certain thing, and in such a case it takes the form of a curse. Thus the Jogi who curses the serpent is said to pronounce an oath upon it that if it does not subject itself to the Jogi, the wrath of Gogal Vir will fall upon it. There are sectarian oaths also which are most dreaded by the members of the respective sect. The Daryapanthis swear by Daryashah and the Nanikshahis by the Guru Granth Sahib, the sacred text of the Nanikshahis. The sacred texts by which people generally swear are serious for they even influence man's stake in the future life. There are however expiatory rites for its cure and it can be recalled at the will of the pronouncer. The sacredness of an oath though preserved to some extent in the villages has almost disappeared amongst the advanced classes who rarely believe in such superstitious things.

Persons who possess evil eyes have the power of adversely affecting a person or an object by simply gazing at the person or object. They are generally the old, dreaded women, the witches. If a person aspiring for a beautiful object looks at it with a fixed gaze and the object is destroyed or rendered useless he is said to have cast an evil eye upon that object. The magicians also are believed to possess evil eyes Beautiful children and fine buildings fall an easy prey to the look of an

evil eye and are therefore always protected against it. It is customary for the mother to apply marks of lamp soot on the temples and forehead of her beautiful son or dress him in a girl's dress to deceive the spirit. The fine buildings may be protected by hanging a black pot at the top of the building. An extraordinarily good animal may also be subject to the effect of an evil eye and a black mark upon it is sufficient to protect it against the influence of the evil eye. If a person possessing an evil eye utters anything in appreciation of a building it may soon topple down. If a child falls suddenly ill or a good building falls down or is injured in any way they are supposed to be the victims of an evil eye. The children are forbidden from passing by the house of an old woman as she is believed to possess an evil eye. The bad effect of it is curable and may however be remedied by a woman expert in this magical rite.

A sacrificial animal is slaughtered at a religious or magical ceremony as a thanksgiving. The animal sacrificed in the case of a god or goddess is generally a kid or a he-goat and in the case of a malignant spirit it is generally a hen. Amongst the religious sacrifices, no animal is killed except in the case of goddess Bhavani during the Navaratri festival. On the last night of its celebration the devotees kill a kid or a he-goat by one stroke of a sword. The sacrificial victim is first brought before the goddess, water is sprinkled over it and red sectarian marks are applied to its horns, forehead and the feet. Then a thread bracelet is worn round its horns after which water is poured in its ears. The animal is killed by a butcher with one stroke. The head, the feet and the spleen are taken out and washed and red marks are applied to them. They are then taken to an adjacent canal or tank by one of the members who reads incantations and buries them by the side of the tank or canal. The remaining flesh is cooked and enjoyed by the disciples at a communal meal.

There is yet another minor deity to which a goat is sacrificed. It is the Khetrapal or preserver of the field which is believed to be a soldier-disciple of god Shiva. It is a marriage sacrificial feast. The Lohanas and some members of other castes performed sacrifice to mysterious powers and Muslim

pirs. It is a festival to appease the Khetrapal and all other malignant spirits and 'joginis' to prevent them from hindering the performance of sacred rites of marriage. The Thakurs perform this feast (*Jasraj*) on the first Monday immediately following the New Moon day before marriage but among many of them goat sacrifice has been discontinued. In the case of evil spirits, hens are sacrificed over the patients so that the magical effect of the spirit is transferred to the sacrificed victim. A partridge or head of a kid may be offered to the minor powers to cure a disease.

But the charm is the most effective device to bring about the desired results. It may take the form of an amulet. The tooth of a hog or the skin of a wolf is worn by children as a charm against fear of evil spirits. The dreadful charms are prepared from the ashes of the dead though the powder of red oxide is a necessary requirement in most of the charms. Most of the charms are prepared for ensuring the love of the husband or injury to an enemy. The charms of protective nature generally take the form of amulets (*rakhri* or *kundhala*) worn round the arm or neck and the persons who possess the power of preparing such charms are generally the priests, jogis, old women, Bhopos and keepers of crematories.

Love-charms generally consist of a substance which may be easily administered in milk. A village woman may get such charms from the local *jadugar* and administer to her husband in milk at night. If it is not properly given, the charm may act in the reverse direction and bring harm to her husband But the common charms are those which cause injury to the enemy An image of the enemy may be prepared from mud or rags and needles or pins pierced into the body and then after necessary incantations the image is buried either under the door-sill of the enemy's house or some other place which he ordinarily crosses every day. No sooner he crosses the charm the needles pierced into the body of image cause one or the other disease to the enemy. Another charm of this kind is to administer a substance to the enemy and obtain success over him. Charms are never taken while crossing a canal or even a water course for they are prepared by the experts under certain determined conditions and

can be used under strict direction or else they create bad effect upon the user. They are prepared on special occasions such as during the solar and lunar eclipses or during the tabooed (*vanvah*) period of marriage. There are also special days, times and places for preparing the charms. The night being mysterious is specially suited for preparing harmful charms. The cremation ground is a dangerous place from where the ashes of the dead are taken and used as a charm against an enemy. If the ashes are placed under the pillow of a person he will pass the whole night in dreams of ghosts and evil spirits. Again the dust removed from the foot impression of an enemy is sufficient to put him in trouble. Apart from these charms, every cult has its own charm which may be used for any purpose. The charms make most of the folk medicine in rural areas. There were special wells at several places in Sind where by taking bath many of the diseases were cured. There are again charms which bring movement even in the natural agencies. Thus if small ants (*tindini*) are wrapped in a rag and placed in a rainpipe, the heavens are bound to rain while the counting of 21 one-eyed persons is sufficient to make the weather blow. The charms may consist of various rectangular designs on a paper with particular numbers written within the square formed in the rectangles or they may be mere mantras invoking a god or a demon. The objects used in preparing charms are leather skins or shoes, metals, courie shells, peacock feathers, stones red-oxide, oil, the *urad* pulse, sieve and the cocoanut.

But the supernatural causation however gives indication in nature for the happening of all happy or unhappy events. "The howling of a dog and the hooting of an owl bode evil to him and his house." "The calling of a partridge must be interpreted with discrimination, or no business could proceed where partridges are so ubiquitous and vociferous." Its calling on the left side of a traveller will bring good luck to him. The crying of crow foretells the coming of a relative or dear one or may forecast happy tidings. If a cat licks its paws and washes its face, a friend will visit the house and it is an inauspicious omen if a jackal meets on the way. The itching of the palm is a pleasant token which brings money to the person, and when setting out on any business a person meets a corpse, there is good

luck awaiting him, but if he meets a sweeper, a one-eyed person or woman carrying empty jars to a well, he may well turn back for he will fail in the achievement of his object. "In the case of partridge, it is said that its calling in the forenoon is lucky on the left and unlucky on the right, but in the afternoon these conditions are reversed."[1] "The hiccough shows that some friend is thinking of the sufferer; if he recollects his friends one by one, the hiccough will stop as soon as the right one comes to the mind." The sudden bite of one's own tongue shows that he has been remembered by a friend or dear relative. If a person's slippers happen to be placed on each other, he is expected to go out on journey. If while arising from bed an ugly person or a one-eyed person is seen, the whole day will pass in misery and without meals. The throbbing of the right eye brings good luck and that of the left brings bad luck, but this condition is reversed in the case of females. This omen is also extended to other parts of the body as well. The grating of teeth in sleep by a male is an auspicious sign, while grating by a woman or a virgin are symbolic of witchcraft. The sound produced often by the burning of fire is indicative of some backbiting going on against the person sitting near the fire.

Several acts done by persons are in themselves bad omens of miseries or troubles and are therefore carefully avoided. It is inauspicious to prepare fuller's earth in water by putting it first in the water-pot. If any thing is forgotten while going out for work he should return and go after some time. No person should pull the cot rope at the lower part of bedstead in the night as he will be a parent of seven daughters. A person walking with one slipper in his foot also faces similar result. It is also forbidden to rock the cradle at night or to rock an empty one even at day time. The dining plate should not contain three breads, and if only three breads are needed, one of them must be cut in halves It is a bad omen to whistle in the night nor should a girl dress her hair at night and if a young child sees a mirror even at day time it will suffer from diarrhoea. Fuller's earth should not be prepared in the kitchen and no person should hold his hands at the back of his head in the night. Eating parched beans in the night brings heavy debts upon the person and it is inauspicious to stand on a threshold, and more so,

while removing fatigue by pressing fingers. No virgin should place her one leg over the other while sleeping. It would bring positive harm if a person goes in a garden in the night as it is full of spirits. The tape should not be put in a pyjama in the night time for fear of getting seven daughters nor the pillows should be covered in the night. The house should not be cleansed with broom in the night as otherwise all the money and fortunes will be swept off. Sweeping should not be specially allowed under a cot on which a person is sleeping. No person should sleep straight facing upwards and keeping both the hands on the chest like the dead. The nails of the hand should not be thrown within the house as the house would not prosper and throwing hair within the house premises would bring confusion to the person or his family. The pestle for pounding grain, or a broom should not be placed straight against the wall as they bring ill-luck, disease or death. Such ill-luck may not fall upon the persons who place them so, for the physicians can do so to increase their business. No woman should wear the dress of any other person as it would bring some calamity and a woman wearing white clothes is likely to become a widow.

There are also lucky and unlucky days. A man who shaves, oils his body or puts on clean clothes on Tuesday, will shorten his life. Shaving on Sunday is also tabooed and there are separate days for separate cults. No fuller's earth or oil should be applied to the body on Tuesday and Thursday. No woman with a living husband may be allowed to bathe on the first Sunday of the month or a Sunday which falls on the Full Moon day. It is not auspicious to go out on a journey on a Thursday, though days are fixed for different directions according to the position of the moon on the particular day. The days which are propitious for the commencement of any important undertaking can be ascertained only by the position of the stars, and these are understood only by Brahmins and priests. They however may be undertaken on any sacred day such as the New Moon day or the Full Moon day. Days on which eclipses fall are harmful "specially to unborn children for the cautious parents go to bed and lie still while an eclipse is in progress." It is further believed that if any quarrel arises on the first day of a month, the whole month will pass in quarrels. On the same

belief no debt is paid on the first day in order to avoid further contraction of debts. The falling down of tooth brush or stick is an indication of the coming of a friend or a relative. It is a bad omen if two persons come to call a doctor for it is a sure sign that the patient will not recover. If any person sees a patient dead in dream, the patient is bound to survive and a false rumour of his death also makes the patient recover from illness. But if a very old man happens to recover from serious illness, it is a very awful omen, for his recovery is believed to be casually connected with the sudden death of a young person of the family; and if no person dies some other grave calamity or financial loss is bound to befall the family. If a patient sees a camel in dream, he is likely to die soon, but if any person sees a serpent biting his left leg, he is likely to get riches from somewhere. The celestial bodies also give several indications of the coming events. If a star is visible in the day time, there is likelihood of a war being waged. If a circular shadow is formed round the moon, there is bound to be a change in dynasties and kingdoms. So also the falling of several stars in the night is held as inauspicious with similar results. It is also believed that if a knot is tied during the time the shooting star is seen falling, the person tying the knot will achieve anything which he demands during this period.

There are also magical ways of averting evil which is often indicated by signs or disturbances in nature. Thus if any inauspicious utterances have been made by a person, he must spit out on the ground so that the evil event may be averted. If any bad indication is given by a phenomenon in nature the best way of averting the forthcoming evil is to take out a match and break it into halves. In case a person has been a victim to the casting of an evil-eye, he or she may be taken to an old expert woman who will counteract the evil effect. If the throbbing of the left eye or of a limb indicates the coming of a calamity, the best way of averting it is to press the trembling limb with ashes asking it to bring happy tidings The evil effect created by a positive magical rite is on the other hand counteracted by a counter magical positive rite or a negative abstinence.

1. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 218.

CHAPTER VI

RITUALS

Whether the Sindhis are Nanikshahis or Daryapanthis or follow any of the sects of Hinduism, they employ Brahmin priests to perform their ceremonies. The ceremonials slightly vary according to regional differences which they had in Sind as also according to the varied assimilation of the elements of immigrant population. The ritual is either Brahmanic or indigenous based on the phenomena of inundations and partly on the old beliefs and superstitions. With the introduction of Nanikpanth, many of the rites, particularly of non-Brahmanic character, are officiated at by the priests of this faith who substitute a simple ceremonial. The advanced sections of the Sindhis have simplified their rituals and given up many rites and ceremonies which are observed among the rural Lohanas; and with migration to India several rites have been left behind by them.

The first in the system of rituals come the fertility rites which ensure the perpetuity of succession in the family. They begin from the marriage time, for many of the marriage rites are connected with fertilization. In a marriage procession the bridegroom is led to the bride's house on the back of a mare to bring fruitfulness to the new family. As soon as the procession reaches the bride's house or even earlier, the youngest brother of the bridegroom or some other child is seated behind the bridegroom before he gets down from the mare. It further ensures the first child to be a male. An unfruitful couple may be appointed as father and mother of the bridegroom during marriage so that they may be bestowed with a son. The practice of breaking a cocoanut, a symbol of fertility, by the bridegroom

on the next morning of the marriage also signifies fertility of the bride. The very fact that all the women folk wear rose-coloured clothes during the ceremonial period of marriage shows that the red clothes which are symbolic of fertility among the Sindhis, act as fertility charms. After marriage there are several rites undergone for the purpose of fertilization, most of them being originally performed by the Daryapanthis and later transmitted though imitation to other sects. The fertilizing influence of the inundations has been shown elsewhere and the rites connected with the approaching floods not only ensure fertility to the barren women but further ensure the child to be a male.

Then follow the rites of safe bearing and delivery. On 5th, 7th or 9th month of pregnancy she obtains two charms (*rakhri*) from her spiritual preceptor prepared from red and white threads with five and seven knots respectively. A *rakhri* with 7 knots is worn round her waist while the other one is worn round her neck. She wears the ceremonial clothes namely green petticoat and red head-dress after bath as also the sacred ornaments (*jhaba, mori* and *nura*) and obtains the charms from her preceptor after making offerings (grain, sugar, money etc.) which she brings in her skirt This ceremony of the Daryapanthis, may be performed in a Nanikshahi or Devi temple or may be even officiated at by a Brahmin with variations and preparation of Kanah Saheb in a temple. Another rite performed before delivery is the '*oiling*' ceremony (*tel*), a Brahmanic rite undergone during the 9th month of pregnancy. A day is selected when female members of the house take bath after applying fuller's earth to their bodies, an act essential for the performance of this rite. At night, the household deities (*dev*) are placed in the main room before whom are kept two new earthen vessels. A lamp is lighted near the household gods by the Brahmin while the Jajik plays on his plaited instrument. A piece of molasses and a copper coin are placed before the deities. The woman wears the sacred clothes and ornaments and the members of the clan gather to go through a rite (*achhut*) and take a small piece from the molasses. On the morning of the next day, the native nurse presses her hand against the stomach of the pregnant woman. The couple sit on separate wooden platters before the deities, the wife wearing the usual sacred clothes and

the husband wearing those which he got from the bride's family at the time of marriage. They place a cup of porridge (*bhat*) and sweet cooked rice before the deities and the Brahmin in accompaniment of the Jajik performs the worship of gods as usual. The household gods are removed on the third day after the Brahmin has finished the worship followed by distribution of porridge.

Normally the delivery takes place at the husband's house. As soon as the child is born a nurse cuts its navel cord after putting a little treacle inside the child's mouth. The paternal grandmother of the child throws flour-balls (*pin*) into a tank or canal and disposes of the placenta. After taking bath she prepares thirteen balls of wheat flour and pressing them with the hand of the child, she walks upto a nearest pond or well without speaking on the way and throws them in. She brings water from there and after a star has risen in the sky or if it is already day light, a virgin is called to wash the breasts of the woman with it. The child is not allowed to suck the mother till then. This in origin seems to be a custom of the Daryapanthis in which sucking is forbidden till the aquatic animals have been fed with flour balls and the rice oblations are made to the river-god.

The fact of birth is instantly communicated to the family Brahmin priest after noting the exact time so that the child may be properly named. It is a practice at some places to name the child not on the birthday but only on the 6th day (*Chhathi*) or again at some places even on the third day. It is a common practice to hang an onion or spray of neem or mango leaves at the front door of the house to avert the evil. A small pit is also dug near the sill of the same door from outside and filled with water.

The placenta is generally disposed of by burying it sometimes along with the navel-chord through which life is transmitted near the hearth where daily food is cooked. Many Lohanas of Sukkur and of Tharparkar throw the placenta in a river or a pond after putting it in an earthen vessel (in which are also put seven cloves and seven cardamoms) with seven red marks

(*tilaks*). At Sukkur, the pot used to be thrown in a lake in which the lotus plant had originally grown, if the previous children did not survive. The placenta and the navel-chord are thrown in water under the belief that it will bring long life to the child. Under the same belief the placenta is buried at some places near the hearth after wrapping it in red cloth along with a cocoanut. At other places again it is ordinarily thrown away in a tank or a canal partly with a view to prevent it from being eaten away by animals, for that would mean that the child's mother would be involved in some mysterious trouble. Among some people of Lower Sind the placenta of a female child is buried under a water jar stand so that she remains cool and contented and leads a chaste and dispassionate life. The placenta however is buried in the hearth so that she may pass an active career. The people of Lar who throw the placenta into water are changing their custom gradually into burying it in the hearth. The custom of throwing the placenta in a river or a water tank is much in vogue among the Sindhis of Nassarpur and the places round about.

If a son is born the ladies cry aloud that she has delivered a daughter or else the placenta will rise up inside and poison her whole system. It is instantly buried for if it is passed over by any person, some ill-luck or calamity will befall the child or its mother. There are several proverbs connected with the placenta. A person whose appetite is sharp or returns home very soon or visits some other house frequently is said to have his placenta buried in the hearth of that house. For a person in haste, he is said to have his placenta buried in his house because the placenta is buried immediately and instantly; and to say that everything comes in its due course, is used the proverb, 'the placenta never comes before the child'

From the third day the nurse places a stone (*rohi*) on the mother's stomach for ensuring progress in her condition. On the morning of the 6th day, the nurse brings 4 iron rods and prepares a square around the woman who has delivered, and after touching her five fingers of the right hand to the cake inside the square she presses on the forehead of the child and invokes the goddess of fortune (*Virdhata*) to bless the child with

a bright destiny. The woman comes out of the square with the child on her lap in ceremonial clothes and takes bath with water brought by the nurse after placing a coin under her foot. She gives coins and grain after putting them in a sieve to the nurse. The nurse then mixes cumin seed and treacle according to a custom almost extinct and goes on giving it to the child and its mother while striking a knife against the wall or door that comes on her way repeatedly uttering "let her eat treacle and cumin seed and deliver again and ever." At noon the mother goes to a well with her child on her lap under her sacred clothes and pitches a knife in the drain outside the bathing place. She also makes grain oblations to the water, puts sacred clothes on the child, eats treacle and cumin seed and makes a little of it touch the mouth of the child. She also keeps grain, a coin, an amulet (*rupee*), a book (*bandi*) and a pen and an ink-pot in a brazen plate on her side within the square at night for the performance of *Chhathi* ceremony.

The child is usually named immediately after its birth. In the case of a male child, it receives another name on the 6th day of its birth. Some even do not name the child at all till it receives its name during the *Chhathi* ceremony. On the night of the 6th day, the relations and friends assemble at the house or at the common clan temple. The Brahmin after worshipping Ganesh, the planets and Kalsha declares the horoscope and places the book in the skirt of the child's father announcing the child's name. But before the horoscope is read to the persons assembled, the mother of the child eats sweet cakes within the iron square, round which is thrice encircled a kacha thread. The Brahmin then applies sectarian marks to the persons assembled and closes the ceremony by the usual concluding recitation (*palau*). The celebration is enjoyed with a feast when relatives and friends are invited though the dish in olden days consisted of rice and sugarless milk. The visitors may present milk, sugarcandy or money to the family of the new born child.

Normally for a female child no naming is done by the family priest as she may be named by members of the family. She cannot receive more than one name for her *Chhathi* cere-

mony is not performed and the belief, that more female children may follow her, has made this practice inauspicious. A male child may however be given more names though normally the current name goes by the first letter of the Zodiac or the constellation in which it is born. Such a name may also be the name of a deity such as Shiva, Mahadev, Ram, Krishna, Kanaya, Brahma, Vishnu, Nanak, Amar, Lal and Narain, or of a precious stone as Hiro (diamond), Moti (pearl), Ratan etc. or of a star Taro (star) or Chandu (from the moon). It may also be named as Daryadino, Gurdino, Haridino, Harbux, Laldino, etc. showing that he was given to the mother by the respective deity or a spiritual preceptor. If the child is born under the *Mul, Ashlesha, Jeshtha* and *Magha* constellations, they are named after twenty-eight days when the same constellation returns. They are named after the constellation in which they are born namely as *Mulo, Asu, Jetho* and *Manghan* after a worship of the respective constellations. The female child may be named after a river such as Ganga, Jamna or Saraswati or after a goddess such as Devi, Sita, Dropati, Parwati, Laxmi, Radha and others. Of late a variety of new names is introduced in the higher classes of Sindhis. To these names, the Lohanas add the common suffixes Rai (Rao, a king), Das (a slave), Ram, Mal, Chand, Lal and Nand. Pushkarna Brahmans generally use the same suffixes as Lohanas, but the term Ji, expressive of respect is added. Some Hindus again adopt the Muslim suffix Bakhsh while the Sikhs usually indicate it by adding 'singh' to their names.

It is a common practice in Sind that the bride during the wedding ceremony receives a new name from the Brahman. This is according to astrological calculations to avoid conflict and strengthen the union between the married couple. The name of a male may also be changed on special occasions such as those of chronic illness or failure in the improvement of fortune or character.

No pesonal names are avoided or tabooed, but as female members cannot utter the names of their husbands or elder members of their family, such names are generally avoided. In case a name is given to a child which is tabooed for the female

members of the family the child is called by a more convenient name. The names tabooed are those of the husband, his father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother and if she were to belong to an old fashioned family, for a number of generations, his sisters, their husbands if the sisters are married earlier than herself, the cousins of her husband, uncles and their wives and in fact all the elder members of the whole clan (*bradri*).

Unnatural births or deformations may be identified with spirits or saints. If there is a simple deformation of the body, it may be because during the pregnancy in the family the husband or the wife had done some thing tabooed during the period of an eclipse. If a male child is born after three daughters or a daughter is born after three sons, a special rite must be gone through by the child. It is passed through the wind-hole in the roof. Silver anklets and bracelets are worn by the child with a ring in its ear in addition if it be a female child. They may be removed however at the time of marriage when a new anklet prepared from silver wire of the size measured from her foot to the knee is worn by her. The child born under such conditions is dreaded, for, it is believed, should the ornaments be removed, some calamity will fall on the family, and if she be a girl, misfortune may befall even the family of her husband. It is therefore carefully seen that the anklet worn by her is not removed from her ankle after marriage. The son born after three daughters is considered unfortunate while the daughter after three sons is considered fortunate. She is supposed to bring good luck, but at the time of marriage a silver thread measured from her ankle to the wind-hole of the house is divided in halves, one part coiled to the roof bar of the wind-hole of her husband's house and the other part coiled to that of the wind-hole of her parental house. If such a silver coil is lost, the whole family is feared to be under a spell of disaster.

The seventh day of the birth is the day when she "pours water over her head" (*Mathe Pani*). She purifies her clothes and those of the child received from her paternal family, with incense, and wears them. A Brahmin performs the worship of Ganesh and the planets while the mother with the child in her lap and a dagger in her hand, walks round the place of worship

so that thereafter she may move outside the premises of her house. At noon, a fisherwoman brings fish (*kurira*) which the mother receives while holding her son in the lap in sacred clothes and prepares it for herself. On the 11th or 21st day she takes her child to a pond or a well, dressed in ceremonial clothes, and there she washes the clothes She then goes to her paternal family if it is in the same village and takes her meals (*manjhando*) there, and brings from her parents parched grain (*phula*), toys and clothes for the child. On the fortieth day is celebrated what is called "Than Bhetta" or "permission taking" ceremony. Permission is sought to live a usual life on the fortieth day, a period determined by a festival of inundation. The wife takes bath in the village pond with usual ceremonial clothes, puts flour ball in water and applies red mark on her forehead and that of the child. In the case of Nanikpanthis she goes with ceremonial clothes to a Tikana along with other members of the family where a priest puts a cocoanut in the skirt of the wife. Some persons who follow the Brahmanic rite call their priest who worships Ganesh, the planets and Khetrapal in particular. On the following morning the husband breaks a cocoanut as symbolic of further fertility of his wife. The mother and her child do not drink milk or eat any of its preparations till such permission has been taken from her spiritual preceptor. It is one of the most important rites for the welfare of the child, for, if the mother is not able to feed her child, the permission for drinking milk must be sought before the child uses it. Such permission can be given by the priest after a worship in a river temple though some of the Lohanas may obtain it from the Nanikpanth priests (Bawa) by a simple ceremony.

The whole period from pregnancy till the child reaches the age of 2 or 3 years, is full of rites and taboos for the welfare of the child. During pregnancy of a woman, no person, especially her husband, is allowed to walk outside the place of delivery *or else her delivery becomes very painful. For similar reasons* no person except a family member is allowed to know that the woman is under pains of labour. Nor is any other pregnant woman allowed to sit in the same house during the period she is under pains and before the placenta has been disposed of.

She must see the placenta however before its disposal or else she will not be allowed to enter the house for seven days more.

If her previous son has not survived she may change the place of delivery or declare her son to be her daughter and perform no sixth day (*Chhathi*) celebrations. The child may also wear silver chains on its neck, wrists and ankles and rings in nose and ears probably to deceive the evil spirit by appearing like female child. The same result is easily obtainable if the mother wears silver anklets, or performs the usual rites with some modification to avert the evil. The sacred clothes worn at the time of *Rakhri* ceremony during pregnancy may now be worn of a different colour or the foods prepared after delivery may be changed on the birth of the son. A jealous woman may broadcast the tidings that a son was born to her though in fact she had not delivered at all since this is supposed to have the effect of bringing a female issue to the woman under labour. If two women in the same neighbourhood have delivered, none of them or their husbands woud pass by each other's house till the ceremony of the 40th day (*Than Bhetta*) has been celebrated. In the event a party happens to pass by the side of the house of the other party, the latter should also pass by the house of the previous one as otherwise some calamity will befall the child or its mother. In case the male child dies before the 21st day (*manjhando*) she must take some other male child to her parental house to feed it, for if there is no child in her lap, she will become barren for the rest of her life. No clothes or parched grain and other things are given to the child under such circumstances by her parental family except a piece of cloth for the child's shirt. The mother prepares the shirt from the cloth wears it herself so that she may bear a son very soon.

The first rite on the growth of the son is what may be called the cradling ceremony. On the 21st day of birth, a woman of the neighbourhood may be called to place the child in cradle. Four different sweets are placed in different corners of the cradle for the four virgins who rock the cradle and take away the sweets. The child is never rocked in the cradle before this ceremony has been performed. The clothes of the male child are not purchased by the family but must be contributed by friends

and relatives till it has gone through the tonsure ceremony on the second Dasserah festival. From the time of its birth, rupee coin amulets received from sisters of her husband or her parental family are worn round its neck to avoid the influence of evil spirits. A thread obtained from an old and wise woman, an expert in magical art, is worn round the child's wrist if it fails to straighten its limbs or stand upright. A similar thread may be tied to both of its feet and connected by this thread till it begins to walk. If it does not speak at the age when it ought to speak, it is fed with rice some of which is first offered to a crow.

When the male child reaches the age of 13 months, its head is shaved with due solemnity. This rite is called *munan*, and a repetition of it at the age of three years is *par-munan*. It may be repeated again at any age in pursuance of a vow by the mother and may be performed at the age of 3½ years by a river or pond or under a Kandi tree at Dasserah festival. In olden times there were as many as 21 shaving rites many of which were those vowed to Muslim pirs or haunted spots. Before migration the important of them were two though at some places not less than five shaving rites were performed. One of them was performed on the New Year day when most people went to Sukkur, Manora, Uderolal, Nasarpur or some other sacred spot on the Indus bank and the other one was performed under a Kandi tree (*jhand*). The barber cuts the hair on the child's head with a pair of scissors while the guests and relatives bring small offerings and waving them round the child, hand over to the barber. The mother who wears sacred clothes brings a ceremonial shirt for the child to wear. The Brahman performs the worship of Ganesh, the planets and the *Kalsha* (pot) and receives his fees, an essential part of the religious merit of the performance. The ceremony is often accompanied with music played by the native drummer; and wheat preparations (*kuti or bhat*) are distributed amongst the relatives, friends, and the neighbours

The sacred thread (*janio*) ceremony, which admits a Sindhi into the pale of Hinduism is performed on a river or canal bank at any age generally between 5 and 12, and now even at a later stage and if there is a marriage in the near future both are

combined together. "The present generation has not leisure for the elaborate solemnities of the Vedas which are much abridged in practice and gabbled over." As for the actual ceremony "the boy bathes, shaves and seats himself opposite the priest, who repeats to him the words which he ought himself to repeat, including even the sacred verse Gayatri. He worships Ganesh, offers the burnt offering (*hom*) of barley, sesame, sandalwood, sugar, ghee, etc. and is then dressed in a *langoti,* furnished with a staff, wallet and a begging bowl, invested with the sacred thread and is sent on the round of mendicancy, pilgrimage and learning which constitute the second stage in the ideal life. He does the first of the three duties literally by asking money from his relations and giving it to the priest, and the second symbolically by a short walk; the educational department attends to the third. Only the Brahman, Kshatrya and Vaishya castes are entitled to wear the sacred thread but many castes of Sudras do it and have their own rites. Sikhs on the other hand, who are really Sikhs and wear their hair long, abjure it."[1]

The first stage in the process of marriage is betrothal. Except in the case of societies where marriage by purchase of girls is common, the proposal must always come from the girl's side. After the proposals have been accepted by both the parties, "the parents of the girls respond by sending a tray of sugar-candy, with a small sum of money, which appears to be a handsel of the bride's dowry for when the young man's family has accepted it and eaten the sugar candy, the betrothal is complete."[2] Some people accept by a letter in writing and the sugar candy, cocoanut and a cap etc. may be sent on an auspicious day such as a Full Moon or a New Moon day. Among some societies it is repeated at the time of marriage. "Among some people a Brahmin is sent to seal the contract by imprinting the tilak on the young man's forehead and giving him a cocoanut."[3] The sugar candy pieces are distributed amongst the members of the bridegroom's clan, relatives and friends. Then the first step towards the celebration of marriage is taken by ascertaining a lucky day. The months of *Savan* and *Bado* are propitious, while the month of *Asu* is considered inauspicious. The Brahman priest after keeping in mind the names of both the bride and the bridegroom and consulting the almanac fixes the exact time

of marriage. Some Sindhis who for any reasons fix a sacred day for the performance of marriage usually celebrate it on *Satnarayan* Chaudashi or the New Moon day. Again many people whose auspicious time cannot be fixed astronomically perform a *godhuro* marriage on any day at sunset. The day selected may fall even a year after the time of selection or even several years from the day of the betrothal. The practice of bringing a number of marriages together affect the fixing of day. Among Amils and members of advanced communities, the marriage day may be fixed even within a fortnight.

In order that the marriage may be accomplished successfully, the gods and spirits are appeased by a sacrifice performed before the marriage rites begin. It goes by the name of Jad amongst the Lohanas and Jasraj amongst the Thakur caste. It is mainly a sacrifice to Kheti Khetrapal, a soldier disciple of Mahadev, and to other evil spirits (Joginis and Pishachas) of various status. It is performed on a Monday, specially on the first Monday of the month of marriage and is not repeated on the second marriage of a man. Nothing is prepared, not even the pulse, or other ordinary requirements for marriage, before the gods have been appeased by a goat sacrifice as shown elsewhere. It is at this time that the father, the grand-father, the mother and the grand-mother are appointed to function as such during the marital rites. It is in the nature of a communal meal and is partaken of by the relatives and friends. Some rural Lohanas who perform this rite (Jad) used to sacrifice a kid to some Muslim pir or *dargah* of a departed saint.

After the marriage sacrificial feast, the marriage preparation may be made. From the New Moon day of the marriage month the bridegroom's family invites their neighbours (women) to attend the marriage songs at night sung in accompaniment of the sound of big brazen plate (*thal*) or an ordinary drum. These *ladas* as the songs are called may be accompanied by comical dances every night till the day of marriage. On completion of the marriage songs (*ladas*) every visitor gets sugar from the bridegroom's family. Before the marriage rites begin, a small granary (*gundro*) is prepared about five or six days prior to marriage and is worshipped as deity throughout the marital cere-

monies. The household gods include what is probably a totemic deity and is represented by a material object which appears to be different in different totems. If per chance it happens to be lost—for it is circulated from family to family in the same or even a distant village—another similar object may be worshipped by a Brahmin priest and raised to the status of the totemic god. It is placed in front of the bride or bridegroom and in it are placed some objects of worship (seven Haris, eight Potras or sons and nine Buhlans or covers). Then they apply the red mark (*tilak*) to the granary, cut jokes or even abuse each other and bathe applying fuller's earth. This ceremony in the case of a female however, is performed after the measurement of bracelets have been taken by a Brahmin or a goldsmith. Then follows another rite (*Sath*) which takes place four or five days before the marriage. The womenfolk after taking bath and distributing food preparations amongst their relatives and caste men, gather round the house millstone in the evening. Each person including the bride or bridegroom puts a handful of wheat from a heap and grind it singing a marriage chorus. After the grinding is over, the mother and grand-mother wear the red ceremonial clothes and walk to the house of Jajik to give him white cotton yarn for preparing braids for tying their plaited tails of hair, and tapes. On the next day the same ladies visit his house again to receive the aforesaid articles which he has prepared in exchange of a small fee in kind. The caste fellows and seven unwidowed married women prepare safflower colour for dyeing the sacred mariage clothes which they wear during the marriage rites. This is called *Khuhnbo* ceremony.

On the day of *Sath* ceremony, there comes another important rite called *Buki*. First the sacred thread (*jamio*) or safflower coloured yarn is worn round the *gundro*, the marriage sword, the grinding mill and a new jar. Then they burn a lamp in a brazen plate and take to a local potter under the protection of the marriage guard (*ainar*), the bridegroom's sister's husband who is appointed to accompany the bridegroom during the marriage period and who for his protection against evil spirits takes a sword in his hand. In the case of the bride her guard is her married sister. The party visiting the potter's house consists of the mother or grandmother of the bride or bridegroom appointed

at the marriage, the Brahmin priest, the Jajik and other women. They bring from him a jar in which the guard (*ainar*) puts his sword while the Brahmin priest reads incantations. The jar is filled with water and brought to the house by the appointed mother on her head. They sit before the millstone, *gundro* and other deities where the Brahmin priest commences the worship of Ganesh and the planets with rice and flour. The mother applies seven red marks to the grinding mill and the bride or bridegroom ties a red tape (*lan*) round the ankle. It is tied by the Brahmin and consists of a piece of red woollen (*loi*) in which are tied seven cardamoms, leaves of *Albizzia lebbee* tree, dust removed from junction of three streets, seven threads from the earholes of virgins, and an iron ring. The mother touches her five fingers filled in butter or safflower colour first to the mouth of the bride or bridegroom and then to other parts of the body (*pier*). Then they sit near household gods and place the jar full of water over an inverted wooden mortar. On the other side are placed the brazen plate in which burns the light. The flour prepared during the *Sath* ceremony is placed in the granary (*gundro*) and the rite is concluded by the priest with Sankalpa, chanting some *mantra* and offering water by his palm.

On the next day the same process is repeated but instead of bringing a jar from the potter, they now bring a clay figure of the god Ganesh. At night they place it before the gods and the bride or bridegroom puts all the ten fingers in an oil pot and applies thrice to her or his head. Every relative of the bride or bridegroom present puts a pice in the oil pot and fills his or her five fingers of the right hand with oil and applies it to the head of the bride or bridegroom. The safflower-coloured cotton yarns are worn round the wrists of the bride or the bridegroom's mother, grandmother, father and grandfather who were appointed for performance of the marriage rites. The rite is concluded by the Brahmin as usual.

On the same day, the priest of the bride's family comes to the house of the bridegroom and brings rice, a cocoanut, nine dates, twenty-one sweets *nibatas*, sugar, cardamoms, cloves and green silk yarn. He also brings the exact time of marriage (*lagna*) in writing. The bridegroom sits near the Brahmin who

performs the worship of Ganesh and the planets. The priest ratifies the marriage time by reading incantations (*Pritishtha*) and places it in the bridegroom's skirt after which the bridegroom pays homage to the Brahmin and the elders. This is called 'Tih.'

On the same night or the night preceding marriage, the bridegroom is brought before the household gods, he wears the marriage garment (*lungi*) over his clothes and ties the sword round his waist. He also wears red cloth-shoes and puts cocoanut and all other articles brought during the 'Tih' ceremony by the priest of the bride's family, in his skirt. Then he is brought outside for the worship of the deity Ganesh and the planets. After the *pritishtha* of the crown (*mutik*), the priest places it over the head of the bridegroom when the family members make oblations (of grain etc.) to the crown. It is then taken off his head and placed nearby to enable the bridegroom to pass the night in rest. The marriage guard (*ainar*) sleeps near him as both of them abstain from moving outside till the bridegroom is taken in procession to the bride's house.

Before the procession starts a number of feasts (Dhama, Junj, Majlas) used to be enjoyed but in India they have been almost invariably replaced by a simple "at home." A few hours before the fixed time of marriage celebration, the bridegroom is taken in procession wearing a crown, and, mounting on a mare he starts for the bride's house, accompanied by his relatives, friends, pipers, drummers and men that let off fire works. The ladies, led by his mother who takes the burning lamp which is placed before the household gods, accompany him while making grain oblations to the crown. They sing the marriage songs and enjoy abuses while the guard (*ainar*) who is the main target of abuses sits near the bridegroom. Till he reaches the bride's house the bridegroom goes on paying homage to all the gods and temples on the way. The ladies return from outside the house of the bride's family if the village is the same, but if the marriage is celebrated in a different village they join the procession for a short distance and return to their homes. The bridegroom has a child behind him seated on the mare and the procession starts in accompaniment with party of male dancers

(*chhejari*) playing at intervals on the way (now almost substituted or replaced by music played with modern instruments of music). When the procession arrives at a short distance from the bride's house, they are received by people of the bride in accompaniment with the sound of a drum. The crown of the bridegroom is removed while he is still on the mare and after the processionists are served with tea or cold drinks and sweets, they disperse. A sister of the bride then brings a brazen plate with a flour lamp burnt by their Brahmin priest, a *cohl* pot, and a tape (*sagi*) for his hair dressing. She dresses the hair (*choti*) applies antimony to his eyes, and goes through the rites. The Brahmin priest worships the planets, and the bride's brother brings a huge brazen plate containing rice, cocoanut and the dress for the bride etc. which are placed by her brother in the skirt of the bridegroom's father. The bridegroom is led to the courtyard where he takes bath, puts on wedding garments and wears golden ear-rings (among the rural folk) presented to him by the bride's family. The mother of the bride washes his feet with water or milk after which he is led to the inner chamber where the women folk of the bride's family are awaiting him. He comes out leading his bride by the hand dressed and veiled in the marriage attire and with the corner of his skirt tied to hers. They are seated in the marriage square on two wooden stools (*pat*), side by side, with the family priest in front of them. The father and mother of *the bride wash the feet of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom* and his father-in-law apply red *tilak* marks to the foreheads of each other. The bride's father then bows and places his head on the feet of the bridegroom who blesses him by placing his hand on his back. The cocoanut is taken out of the skirt of the bridegroom for the worship of Ganesh by the father and the mother under the direction of the priest. The hands of the couple are joined and the corners of their skirts tied together. The priest performs the *hom* sacrifice and recites the *sapta-padi* and then the bride and the bridegroom walk four times round the fire. The four circuits are considered to be associated with the maternal uncle, father, brother and the father's brother respectively. The joining of hands (*hathialo*) and the circuit round the fire (*phera*) are the essentials of the marriage rite. This is called *vedi*. Gifts are distributed to relations and officiating priests as fixed in the dowry tables. Then the bridegroom sitting in a

tonga or other vehicle, goes in joyful procession by a different route to his father's house. As they approach the house, the beat of the drums and music call the women of the house to receive them. A lamp burning in an earthen cover is placed over the bride's head specially at the threshold of the house and the couple is led into the bridegroom's house.

After the marriage ceremony is over another rite (*chhanar*) is gone through before the household gods are removed. On the day following the marriage, the couple is brought before the gods at the bridegroom's house with the corners of their garments tied together. The planets are worshipped as usual by the Brahmin priest and the bridegroom's mother feeds with seven mouthfuls of rice, sugar and milk mixed together, both the husband and the wife. The marriage guard brings a branch of a tree (*kandi*) and pitches it before the gods together with a dagger. The Jajik woman dresses the bride's hair and the couple walks round the planted tree before which is lit an earthen lamp. On the next day the couple and all the family members who have worn sacred threads round their wrists gather before the household gods. The sacred threads and the *lanas* of the couple are untied and after applying the sacred mark (*tilak*) to their foreheads, the Brahmin priest concludes the rite for removing the household gods.

The recognised part of the dowry is given by the father of the bride according to the custom and status of his family at the time of marriage. After a short visit by the couple and relatives of the bridegroom at a meal arranged by the bride's father (*satavaro*), the couple after a period determined by the Brahmin goes to her parental family in advance, for celebration of a festival (*gadjani*) literally intended to introduce the relatives and friends to each other. The couple is led inside the house of the bride's family by a woman with corners of their garments tied together by a virgin while sprinkling water and milk over the path. The parents of the bridegroom may return, for the Brahmin may fix some other suitable day for the return of the couple. Before returning, the relatives and friends gather for the feast to which the bride's father has invited them. After the feast is over, the couple is again led before the household gods

with the corners of their garments tied, to pay homage to them before returning to the bridegroom's house.

These and many other rites are expected to bring certain results. Some of the rites are intended to give publicity to the fact of marriage. Thus a number of feasts fixed for either caste men or the neighbours and relatives, the distribution of sugar candy at betrothal, or eatables received from the bride's family on post-marital occasions, the playing of musical instruments, and firing of the crackers during the procession appear partly to be intended to give the function a wide publicity. The fact that the caste members gather for "Achhut" rite during many of the marriage rites shows that it is intended to bring confirmation and as evidence of marriage. Every rite is performed in the presence of the household gods, and at the time of marriage the couple walks round the sacred fire with solemnity as evidence of the union. Even the consummation is given publicity by breaking a cocoanut and distributing the kernel amongst relatives and friends

The rite of uniting hands of the couple appears to be intended for strengthening the marriage union, for, if the husband does not hold his hand firmly and is let off, the couple may face separation. It also brings dominance of the husband over his wife. The purpose of tying the knots with couple's garments by a virgin on several occasions particularly during the performance of post-marital rites also suggests strengthening of the marriage tie. Rings presented to the couple by their parents are worn during the marriage (*vedi*) ceremony and if lost or broken may bring ill-luck to the couple or even dissolve the union itself. But an important rite for strengthening the union is that of feeding the bride and bridegroom from the same plate. As soon as the last marriage ceremony (*vedi*) is over, the couple is led inside the house of the bride's family where they are fed rice (*kuti*) from the same plate by the bride's mother. A similar result is brought about by "measuring salt" (*Lun Main*) The couple sits in front of the household gods, the bridegroom holds salt in both hands below which the bride also holds it similarly. He puts the salt with a copper coin in it in the hands of his wife who again puts it in the hands of her husband. This process is

repeated thrice, and continued similarly by all other members of the family. Till this is over, the face of the bride is never unveiled or seen as otherwise the marriage tie between the couple may be loosened. There is also the ceremony of changing clothes calculated to bring about the same result. During the "Dikh" rite on the night before marriage, the bridegroom wears a golden necklace (*duri*) and the sacred head-dress (*bochni*) which indicate that the wearer is a female. When the bridegroom led in procession reaches the bride's house, his garment and ornaments are removed and worn by the bride. This rite partly intended to strengthen the marriage tie also appears to deceive the evil-spirit by diverting its attention from the real bride. As soon as the bridegroom reaches the bride's house, she is shown his crown (*mutik*) for, if she fails to see it, the love between the couple is believed not to last very long and may even end in a perpetual conflict. The bride is guarded carefully by her guard (*ainar*) for, if any of her enemies cuts the hair of her head or a piece of her cloth, she may lose the affection of her husband and the marriage may consequently become unhappy. The cocoanut which is a symbol of fertilization ensures strengthening of the marriage bond and therefore it is taken in the skirt of the marriage garment (*bochni*) and broken on the morning following the night of marriage or cohabitation.

min priest may be called again to perform the *vedi* ceremony afresh in the proper manner on an auspicious day determined by him.

The most important rite intended to facilitate consummation is the rite of cutting the bride's petticoat worn under her dress. On the first night of marriage, the dagger hanging by the bridegroom's waist is taken out by his sister or some other woman and a piece of under-worn red coloured petticoat is cut with the dagger. This appears to be done on behalf of the ignorant bridegroom for the purpose of this rite is to make easy defloration of the bride. The petticoat is red coloured which is also connected with consummation and fertility. The wearing of red clothes, as shown elsewhere, by the couple and their relatives and the wearing of red shoes and red pillow-sheets placed on the wooden stools for seating the bride and the bridegroom at the marriage square, and the red ribbons show that all act as fertility charms as well as facilitating cohabitation.

Some of the rites are intended to ensure predominance of the husband. The fact that the corner of her garment is tied to that of her husband shows that she is now fettered to her lord. The joining of hands indicates his domination over the wife, for, the husband must hold fast the hand of the bride and if at any time she gets out of his hand, he will be dominated by his wife. The dagger ceremony described above may partly show the predominance of the husband over his wife but the most important rite to ensure the control of the husband over his wife is the ceremony of his placing the foot over that of his bride. Before taking bath, the husband is brought with his marriage crown on his head before the threshold of the bride's house. The bride places her right foot from behind the curtain on the brazen plate placed on the door sill and the husband places his foot over that of his bride. She does not move her foot even slightly for she may lose the control of her husband.

Some rites on the other hand are intended to bring happiness and prosperity to the couple. The throwing of oil seeds over the bridegroom and his crown at the time of the *dikh* ceremony and the marriage procession brings prosperity to the marriage

couple. Most of the rites, however, appear to protect the couple from evil spirits by performance of a magical formula or by deception or by abstinence. The firing of explosives during the marriage procession may partly dispel the evil, but the most effective precaution lies in the appointment of guards (*ainars*) for the bridegroom and the bride. They never move in absence of the guards who are appointed to ensure that none of their enemies perform an adverse rite against them. The guards hold swords to terrify the spirits and the bridegroom himself hangs a dagger in his girdle round the waist. If a party to marriage, especially the bride, moves outside or walks under a haunted tree or well during the tabooed (*vanvah*) period, he or she may be possessed by evil spirits. The thresholds or door sills are special abodes of spirits and when the bride first enters the house of her husband a lamp is lighted and kept on her head till she reaches the place of household gods. So is the foot-holding ceremony performed over the door sill and whenever the bride visits or returns from her paternal family she pays homage to it. The bride's sister attaches flowers to the shoe of the bridegroom and this is considered as a charm against black magic or witchcraft. The rite of "measuring salt" is partly intended as a charm against the evil influence of the spirits because the face of the bride which is closed against the gaze of spirits is never unveiled till this rite is over. The wearing of the dress and ornaments of the bridegroom by the bride appears to be a device of deceiving the spirit by posing her as a male. In the case of re-marriage by the bridegroom a locket of gold is worn by the second or third wife to appease the spirits of the preceding wives. It is worn by the bride round her neck before wearing all other ornaments, and is offered food regularly before she takes her meals. If the spirit is not appeased it may take revenge and render her barren for the rest of her life. If it be his third marriage, a he-goat is brought during the marriage ceremony when the bridegroom walks round the sacred fire and performs mock marriage with the goat. The goat cries 'be' (two) and the bridegroom replies "Not 'be' but 'tre'" meaning "Not two, but three." This is perhaps to deceive the spirits of the previous wives, and as the force of the spirit is considered as spent on the third wife, he may safely celebrate his marriage with his bride after going through the mock marriage with the

goat. The covering of the face of the bride during marriage ceremony may be due to modesty, but the fact of covering the face a little, of the bridegroom, and not unveiling the face of the bride till salt measuring ceremony is finished, shows that it is also intended against the evil gaze of spirits Such protection may also be obtained by certain abstinences. The parties to marriage may not look back on certain occasions specially after starting the procession. It is believed that if anything falls on the way while going or returning, or some accident occurs, some ill-luck may befall the couple.

The wedding is a potential cause of other weddings. The bridegroom after undergoing the *dikh* rite is believed to acquire supernatural powers and is therefore raised to the status of a king or even of a deity. The intervening period between this rite and the conclusion of marriage is potent with enormous powers. A person who fails to procure a match may approach the bride or bridegroom and it is believed that if they concentrate on such a request, that person may soon find a suitable partner. A solution revealed to them during this period for any perplexing problem never fails since it is communicated by a supernatural power. It is during this period that the bride acquires the powers of a witch by spinning, weaving and sewing a bodice within half an hour. If a sweetmeat or eatable thrown over the bridegroom is eaten by a man, he will have early prospects of getting a girl in marriage. When the crown of the bridegroom is removed on termination of the marriage procession people take off its pieces and garlands and wear them to bring about an early selection of a match.

Some of the diseases are believed to be due to a mysterious act of a spirit. Various forms of mental disorders such as insanity, melancholia and epilepsy are believed to be caused by an act of possession by a spirit as such mysterious diseases are unexplainable by ordinary causes. They can be cured therefore by appeasing the spirits by a sacrifice or by means of a magical formula to which the spirits themselves are subject But in most of the cases, the diseases are caused by an act of magic which may take the forms of an evil eye, witchcraft, curse, oath or performance of a rite. The disease of a small-pox, however,

is considered to be the manifestation of a minor power (*shakti*) which is identified with the small-pox goddess. The remedies for curing diseases therefore are also supernatural. In a case of continuous fever dust collected from the junction of three streets (*trivato*) at night after meals may be placed under the patient's cot on the side of his head, with a bread baking pan placed inverted over the dust-pot (*toyo*). A slipper of a female may then be placed inverted above the pan. In the early dawn, the dust may be thrown back at the place, from where it was removed. This must be done for three nights in succession. Another rite is to sacrifice an unburnt mud brick over the patient and throw it in a ruined and unprotected well. Some people again sacrifice alum and place it in the cooking place and then throw it in the morning at a junction of three streets. But the most common practice among the villagers is to light a flour-paste lamp in the presence of the patient after all the other members of the family have withdrawn, wave it round the patient, and then take it under the cover of a head-dress to a water-drain and place it there; for, it is believed that if any person happens to see it burning, the disease will be transferred to him. In case of intermittent fever, some people lock the rope which tightens the frame work of the patient's cot and unlock it again after the patient has recovered. Another rite consists in burning a cow-dung cake in the morning and keeping it smoking till at noon it spreads over the patient. This is done for three days in succession. Some pay homage to a tree (*Sirhan*) after walking three times round it and making grain oblations to it. If it recurs on every fourth day, it is believed that if a person is startled suddenly by pouring water over him or by raising a cry of death or murder, he will be instantly cured for ever. In case of slow fever recurring at night, a thread may be taken from the bed (*godri*) of the patient at night secretly without his knowledge and worn round his neck. This type of fever is identified with a thief and the rite for its cure is therefore performed in secret. A thread prepared by a thief and worn similarly is naturally believed to bring quicker results.

There are different rites for various diseases. The smelling of an old shoe is sufficient to revive a person from a fit of epilepsy. A rite for the patient suffering from lumbago consists

in taking him to a junction of three streets where an old expert woman putting a pestle in the cloth fastened as girdle round the waist, truns it tightly. Then she takes it out and the patient is asked to run some distance when she cries out "Run out so that the lumbago may be cured." This is done at two consecutive evenings, and the morning falling in between. In a case of jaundice, small pieces of a branch of the *Kandi* tree are tied in a thread and worn by the patient as a necklace. Some people take oil and water to an expert who reads incantations over the patient after everybody has withdrawn from the place. In the case of inflammation of the eye (*anri*), the patient may go to the house of a neighbour at night when all are asleep and knock at the door. If any person from inside asks about his identity he replies that he is *Anri* mother which is transferred from him to the person inside. This is done for three consecutive nights and naturally at different doors. It may be cured reading incantations on a winnowing fan which is symbolic of cleansing or by applying an iron bolt (*karo*) at the place of inflammation saying "Let there be no inflamation of the eye, but to the iron: why should anybody's eye be inflamed?" Leucoderma is cured by suddenly embracing a sweeper girl. In the case of a child suffering from diarrhoea a shoe after touching it to the ground at a junction of three streets (*trivato*) is struck thrice against the anus of the child. Lines of charcoal are drawn on its sole. In case of a dog-bite, seven shoe-blows with dust are given at the place of injury. If a child suffers from the habit of weeping, it is not allowed to see the goats while returning from the jungle in the evening. Another rite connected with this is to wane charcoal and juwari grain round the child and throw them over a berry tree. Still another rite is to blow with force (*chhandin*) the bed clothes of the child over the tail of a cow.

If any disease is caused by the influence of an evil eye, it may be cured by an old woman who knows the rite of "cutting the influence of evil-eye." Three mud cakes with a thread tied round as to divide them in four equal squares, are cut with knife by the old woman while pressing them against her eyes. The cakes are sacrificed (*ghor*) over the patient and thrown in a water tank or pond. This is repeated on three successive days.

Black marks may be applied to the cheeks and forehead of a child to protect it against the influence of an evil eye.

The soul is considered in the form of a finer breath which when goes out, the life ceases to exist. At the time of death, the mouth and eyes of the dying person are closed so that the life does not pass through them for open eyes and mouth indicate that the person will go to hell. It would be an abnormal death (*vidh*) if a person dies before taking bath or drinking syrup or if his or her clothes are not removed before death. If a person dies on cot (not believed in by many) or on the second or the third storey except the ground floor, it is considered as a case of abnormal death. Death caused during a surgical operation or on a scaffold or by some other accident requires the performance of special rites. So also if any person dies within eleven days of the delivery in the family it is included in the category of abnormal deaths.

When death approaches, the patient is brought down from the cot and placed on the ground on bed. The Ganges water, syrup and the cow-dung are kept in readiness, and when all hopes of recovery are gone, the body is removed to the hearth of the cooking place where his placenta lay buried and which is plastered with cow-dung. Immediately after syrup and Ganges water are administered, the patient is bathed naked with ordinary water. Some of the Amils allow the person to die in ordinary clothes, or some again even on cots. A woollen (*khatha*) cloth is placed over the body and if he happens to die in a cold winter night, he is massaged with ghee to keep him soft. In the morning, the coffin is prepared by the jajik, and if he be not available, the duty will fall upon the Brahmin priest or even on a *bawa* in his absence. The length of the coffin is measured with the juwari reed, which is cut equal to the length of the corpse. This "measuring the reed" should be done instantly after death; else, the corpse will increase in size. Then a bier is prepared. In the case of an elder, young males of the family get their heads, beards and moustaches shaved. The practice of shaving has almost completely disappeared among Amils.

There is no special auspicious time for the disposal of the dead, but it is preferable if a person dies at night, to dispose of it in the morning so that it may receive the rays of sun-god. The Brahmin performs the rite (*pini*) through the main corpse-bearer who has taken bath. This rite consists in digging the earth with an axe by the main corpse-bearer (*pinia-varo*) on the right side of the deceased near his head. The barley and sesamum are put in the excavated place while the Brahmin reads incantations. After this rite is over, the body is bathed and clothed with a white new cap, hand gloves, a neck wear and a *langoti* prepared from new white cloth by the jajik. He is bathed with a different *langoti* specially prepared. In case the deceased is an unwidowed married woman, all her ornaments are removed by the goldsmith and those of lead or tin prepared by him are put on her. The nose ornament if any may be allowed to remain as she has her husband alive—a sure sign of her happy life beyond death. The ladies see her when she is being dressed and beautified with ornaments, hair dressing and application of red powder and sectarian (*tilak*) marks. She wears a red shirt, her hair is combed and a *swastika* design (*putro*) is painted on her forehead before she is removed from the house. The body is covered with cloth (*khatha*) and brought outside, while all the women sitting there raise the mourning to its highest pitch. The body is placed on the bier kept outside the house and covered with new cloths in place of the *khatha*. The Brahmin performs the *pini* rite, while rose water, red powder and ambergris are being thrown over the body. The bier is taken first by the corpse-bearers who are relieved on the way by other persons, for it is considered highly fruitful to carry a dead person to the crematory. The body is taken to the crematory with the feet in the direction of his or her house, under the belief that the spirit has still hopes of return. Copper coins (and *patasa*) are thrown over the body and those who see the funeral procession on way pay homage to the dead. It is, however, believed that it is an auspicious omen to see the dead being carried to the crematory. When the procession reaches outside the cremation ground, the body is placed down on *thikrato* or a place of earthen pieces where the "pot-breaking" rite is performed. The Brahmin again performs the *pini* rite for the third time. The corpse-bearers change their places, the front two taking the place of the corpse-bearers at

the back. The corpse is now taken with its feet to the crematory as the spirit has now no hope of returning. The logs are kept at the burning place over which the bier is placed, and the Brahmin again performs the *pini* rite. The face of the deceased is opened and the rays of the sun are allowed to fall on it. The main corpse-bearer puts ghee, honey and five kinds of precious metals and stones (namely gold, pearls, silver, copper and topaz) in its mouth together with stalks of Tulsi and sandalwood. The four corpse-bearers then fire the funeral pyre from four sides after logs of wood have been placed over it. The main corpse-bearer draws a line thrice with a bier-pole around the pyre (*dohi*) in the names of Ram and Laxman cursing those who might enter the prohibited place. After dispersing (*palau*) the corpse-bearers gather at a bathing place where the Brahmin again performs the *pini* rite. The hair shaved are buried near the pit in which *pini* is placed. Grass leaves (*darbh*) are put in a pot (*lota*) filled with water and carried by the main corpse-bearer till the performance of the third day rite is over. Before entering the house on return of the corpse-bearers a cow or a calf is brought within the house premises to walk a few paces inside. The cow urine may also be sprinkled. The corpse-bearers prepare a square with unburnt clay-bricks and burn a lamp within it near the cooking place where the body of the deceased was placed. The lamp placed on a brick is covered at the top with bricks and a basket. The light is kept burning by the corpse-bearers who sleep by the side of the lamp to see that it is not extinguished.

from the crematory. The main corpse-bearer after taking bath sits under a pipal tree where the Brahmin priest reads the sacred text (*Gita*). The bones are packed in a tin box with a golden article and a rupee in it. The ashes may be thrown in a river or may be taken to Hardwar for being thrown into the Ganges. At noon, the lamp bricks and sand on which the lamp is lighted are all removed from the house and thrown in a pond or canal without looking back or speaking on the way. In the evening the people gather at a place where the Brahmin performs the rite of binding head-gears (*pagris*) to the corpse-bearers. Two of them who wear the head-dress, (*pagri* being out of fashion), proceed in one direction and the other two in another, three times, and then return to the original place. The Brahmin priest applies red sectarian mark on the foreheads of all persons present there and after the *palau* (skirt holding) reading, the people disperse.

Those who afford, send the main corpse-bearer (*pinia-varo*) to Hardwar for throwing the bones in the Ganges and for performance of the rites of the tenth and the eleventh day, the rest may send the packet of bones at a future convenient date. Those who visit Hardwar, perform the Brahmanic rites of these two days there and feed the Brahmins on the next i.e. the 12th day. The main corpse-bearer's head is shaved more than once, once for the performance of each rite. The bones are thrown at the Kankhar spot after the golden substance and a rupee are taken out by the priest. If they do not visit Hardwar, the 10th and the 11th day rites of burning the sacred cake are performed by the Acharji— of a caste of super-pure Brahmins who avoid the touch of any other person. No Sarswat or Pushkarna Brahmin performs the rite till the 11th day has passed. On the morning of the 12th day. the main corpse-bearer brings a jar full of water and if the deceased is a male, he lights a four-cornered flour paste lamp and if it is a female, he lights a one-cornered lamp. The priest worships the deities and the planets and offers the sacred cake (*pinda*) to the departed ancestors. Another rite (*tarpan*) is also gone through in the name of deities, rishis and all the departed ancestors. After the worship is over and the ceremonial articles are removed and thrown into water, the Brahmin is feasted on the conclusion of the funeral rites.

If a death occurs among the followers of the mother-goddess, all those who join the procession are asked to withdraw from the crematory except the followers of the mother-goddess. They sing songs to invoke the mother-goddess there for evolution of the spirit, and no person is allowed to hear the songs for the fear of a calamity that may befall him. The Nanik-panthis read Jap Sahib in the crematory after fire has been set to the corpse. They may mark some signs on earth after finishing the Jap Sahib. The children under the age of 2½ years or in some places 2¼ years are buried and not burnt. There are no particular rites about the disposal of the children on their death as they are taken wrapped in cloth and buried in graveyard without any rites. Among the Lohanas of Sukkur, the custom of burial has been stopped by a resolution of the Panchayat.

There is a regular system of mourning. It varies according to the age, sex and relationship of the deceased members. Mourning is almost considered as a duty to the dead. Immediately on death, the younger male members shave their heads as a sign of mourning as well as an act of help to the departed spirit. The female members of the caste and neighbourhood come immediately and join in weeping which mostly consists in recalling the good traits of the deceased's character. If the deceased has left his wife behind, she has to dishevel her hair; and when the bier is being carried to the crematory, she may mourn by beating her hands against her breast. All the bangles on her arms are removed. She does not change her clothes after the 11th day and does not sleep on cot or move outside the house till the mourning period (*varand*) has expired on the fifth or the twelfth month. On the first day the meals are not prepared as they are supplied by the neighbours. In the evening rice may be cooked without salt outside the house-premises and eaten without vegetable preparation. It is called "Kauri kuni" or bitter cooking pot. The second day mourning rite (*syapo*) now no longer customary, used to be gone through by the collected women by beating their hands against breasts after having dishevelled their hair and uncovered their heads. This however was done if the age of the deceased was more than about eight or ten years. This was repeated with the intensity on the evening of the third day at the time the corpse-bearers went through the "pagri" rites.

An old woman began with the utterance of some mourning phrase and the rest followed in rhythmic tune and struck their hands against their breasts. In olden days there were at some places professional female mourners who led in the mourning rite (*aosar*) with utmost caution and exactitude as any flaw in the manner of mourning was liable to reproach. In the lower and the desert portions of the province as in many a place in olden times there were Panchayat mourning phrases which were begun by the chief professional mourners and then followed by the rest. Among the Lohanas of Tando Adam and elsewhere there is no mourning on the death of an old person. His death is rejoiced. Among the backward Lohanas of Sukkur if any woman died, the female members of her parental family mourned to the extent of saying harsh words and curses against the members of her husband's family. The method of weeping was even almost systematised, for if any new person or relative comes for condolence, the chief mourner who is either the wife or mother begins to weep to be followed by others sitting in the house. Mourning by weeping ordinarily is repeated on the 11th and 12th days by females of the house. On the expiry of two and a half months in the case of a younger and five or twelve months in the case of an old man or woman, the mourning day (*varand*) is celebrated. Those females who come to offer condolence before the third day, change their finger rings from the right hand to the left before entering the house and rewear on the former after washing on return to their houses. Thus does the life which emerged surrounded by a series of grave solemnities in this transient wide expanse complete its journey "sans teeth, sans eyes and sans everything."

1. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 214.
2-3. *Ibid.* p. 216.

CHAPTER VII

RE-FORMATION OF SOCIETY

The migration of Sindhis across the Pakistan border was a unique event in the cultural history of Sind, for, it was not merely a million and a quarter of Sindhis migrating on the eve of Indian Independence in 1947, but the entire Sindhi culture after a nourishment of five thousand years being transplanted in a country with soil and cultural climate quite different from that in which it was nursed and moulded into a fully developed organism during the course of its history. Their motive for migration was deep-rooted in their political and cultural past, for, after centuries of suffering and degradation under Muslim rule, they had emerged during the British period as a progressively dominant society through patience and endurance; but with the changing policy of the British in favour of the Muslims, they had a growing feeling of cultural inadequacy. With the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency, they were surrounded by economic and cultural insecurity till ultimately the religious background of Indian partition in 1947 signalled total obliteration of their economic and cultural existence. Frustrated with a feeling that they could no longer gratify their economic and cultural aspirations under a fast changing environment, they marched through the path predetermined by history which in fulfilment of itself brought the Sindhis within the fold of Indian society.

The Sindhis did not migrate to India with an urge to immerse in the regional cultures of India, but with the expectation of following more securely their own pattern of life as another facet of Indian society, and even while they were busy in struggling for their economic rehabilitation, they spread a network of Sindhi educational and cultural institutions throughout

the country and tried to resecure their social structure by re-formation of the Panchayats and communities to maintain their basic tenets of cultural life. Though the traditional structure of family groupings, clans and village communities could not be fully maintained during the progress of evacuation, the process of their migration was relatively more peaceful, slow and systematic than that the rest of the people of West Pakistan had to go through. They largely maintained their existing patterns of cultural structure all through the crisis and clung to the traditional ways of life. They moved in the form of their pre-partition clusters of families or even parts of neighbourhood groups and concentrated in urban areas where they largely settled in Sindhi colonies and townships springing up throughout the country. In such segregated neighbourhoods, they have been able to continue their traditional patterns of life, ritual observance, marriage relations, educational institutions and language. And as they mostly follow the occupations in the towns where the rest of the Sindhis are generally dispersed in similar vocations, the cultural communication among them is almost maintained intact. They are knit together not only by the pattern of occupation which they follow in common, but also by the occupational neighbourhoods and segregated bazars which they have set up in the various towns of India. While re-establishing themselves in the economic sphere, they followed their own *occupational structure and never envisaged any wide change in* their traditional pattern. As a class of traders and petty shop-keepers they mostly dispersed in the urban areas throughout the country and distinguished themselves as suppliers of consumer goods at the cheapest rates. So also they dispersed in services as well throughout the length and breadth of India. As they are not cultivators, when they were moved for rehabilitation on land by the Government, they abandoned the fields and re-settled in the occupations according to their traditional pattern. The absorption of Sindhis in labour also is insignificant as occupationally they were not known for labour. The Zamindar class which had no scope for rehabilitation in India, in its original pattern of occupation has been almost wiped out. As the Sindhis have not shown any change in their aspirations for traditional economic status, quite a large number of them are slowly witness-

ing their own economic extinction—yet they have not fallen to begging.

It is not that the Sindhis are lacking in any positive attitude for identification with the people of receiving states or linguistic societies, for their cultural history has fully witnessed the existence of a distinct trait of quick adaptability in their character; but the Indian communities in which they might have sought institutional dispersion are still in the process of formation. The Indian people who had hardly freed themselves from the bondage of foreign domination had not yet determined the pattern of Indian society nor defined universal roles and their allocation for performance by the people of variegated cultures in India. The status of a "nationally integrated secular Indian Community" with a socialistic pattern of structure, since defined, envisages removal of caste and untouchability but the Indian societies which are fast distinguished as regional, linguistic or religious, possess many deviant characters which arrest the process of their social transformation into one Indian community. Among the Sindhis the caste, pollution and untouchability are not significant, and religion is a blend of all faiths and possesses a subsidiary and liberal role in their cultural life. With adaptable and cosmopolitan character and loss of territory and language already in a process of decomposition, the Sindhi community can rapidly strive towards the defined goal of Indian society; but since it cannot merge itself as to completely lose its identity in the caste-structures of the different receiving people without inviting their own extinction, the only solution for the Sindhis appears to lie in developing a supporting structure for their cultural existence.

In the conscious drive for re-building their society, the Sindhis should adhere to the performance of universal roles determined for achieving the status of the Indian community by acceptance of universal institutional norms. No precise picture either of the new society or of the status it would achieve in the multilingual cultural society of India, can however be predicted at this stage. Yet the trends in the progress of their social change which are relatively clear can indicate the probable lines of re-formation.

The first factor in the transformation of society is the disappearance of the bases of physical and cultural environments. The environmental setting of the Sindhi character and pattern of culture were largely a contribution of the Indus and physical formations of the country, soil and climate with their specific associations, resources and dearths. The cultural structure had become stabilised by a network of closely knit regional types. The main regional settlements of culture corresponded to the traditional, geographical divisions of Sind into Lar (Lower Sind), Vicholo (Middle Sind) and Siro (Upper Sind), with characteristic marks of distinction in dress, dialects, customs, manners and behaviour patterns. The division of the Valley by the Indus and other physical limitations had determined the formation of territorial circles of endogamy and community life, while the Indus itself served as a highway of cultural traffic between the scattered communities. The people congregated in large fairs on the banks of the Indus everywhere to celebrate the festivals and sacred days and perform the tonsure rites, sacred thread ceremonies and a number of other rites on its abundant canals, lakes, ponds and tanks. Neither the historic temples, water banks and sacred ash-burials of holy saints, continue to be a source of cultural inspiration nor the sacred trees or stones, haunted spots and *pirs* and *dargahs* continue to pollute the religious life of the Sindhis. Sufism may decline. The geographical bases of cultural solidarity have disappeared and the environmental continuity to behaviour patterns may become feeble.

Another feature in the social transformation is urbanisation of the rural part of the Sindhi population and intermingling of the various regional types. By entering into active social relations with each other, by formation of common panchayats, associations and co-operatives and by continuous social contacts in the common colonies and occupational neighbourhoods, the *various groups may tend to weaken regional prejudices and* differences in dress, dialect, accent and feeling. The effect of urbanisation on the rural immigrants are visible in their cultural modifications like the discarding of rural fashions of dress and ornaments, disappearance of purdah, promotion of education and the pattern of living characteristic of urban life. In large cities where members of the same regional groups have concentrated

in large numbers they have adhered to the traditional patterns by forming panchayats and communities with the same regional background which they possessed in Sind ; but with the invasion of the forces of new regional and cultural environment and closer interaction coupled with weakening of the traditional mores, the level of cultural integration between the different groups may rise with consequential fading away of the regional groups.

In human relations, the joint family has experienced almost total structural disintegration. Scarcity of space consequent on urban concentration, and the manifold rehabilitation benefits led not only to the economic and social decentralisation of the family but also to the separation of nearest relatives, widows, children, the infirm and the old, by their admission to the Destitute Homes. With the growing problems of economic rehabilitation and concentration of Sindhis in extensions, suburbs and colonies, the long distance from the places of occupation have reduced the contacts at home and raised the position of the woman. With decline in familism, there is consequent rise in the individualisation of interests ; and the parents' authority as moral censors of their boys and girls has tended to break. Dispersion of the kinsfolk and members of the community to remote places has created social distance, for those who joined the celebrations of birth, marriage and other occasions have ceased to experience or ensure social cohesion. In the field of marriage relations, the old territorial endogamous divisions may vanish gradually ; and the totemic and gotra classifications may also lose much importance in sexual selection. The evil of dowry has made its appearance in its worst form ; and with rapid educational progress and increasing economic independence of the woman in cities, marriage age has increased with consequent decline in the frequency of marriage. The number of separations increased in the early period of migration owing to poverty ; and the marriage feasts and ceremonials have been simplified. Poverty, lack of privacy and loss of traditional hold are the principal reasons of their social pathology and unless they are eliminated by their economic rehabilitation, restoration of privacy and strengthening of the social sanctions, the concentration of vice and crime in big cities will persist as characteristic vices of an urban civilization. As urban people the Sindhis are not expected

Similarly in Gujerat new social emergents will arise within the Sindhi society by being gradually drawn within the orbit of regional social systems. The original regional types might gradually disappear, but the structure will tend to become formal by developing regional contours as Kachhi Sindhis, Gujrati Sindhis, and Kathiawari Sindhis. Thus by a wide dispersion of Sindhis in India a host of disintegrative social emergents will appear constantly undermining the structre of Sindhi society.

To prevent possible fragmentation of the society it is necessary to maintain structural unity at a level which would ensure its solidarity. Such unity may be achieved by concentration in a single area which might offer largest scope for its economic absorption. This evidently is possible only if the Sindhis concentrate in Bombay and round about and develop the township of Ulhasnagar. In absence of regional settlement in a compact area the alternative solution lies in concentration to a few important cities of India forming satellite groups with a Cultural Home in Bombay. This process will still necessitate concentration of Sindhis in a sufficient number in Bombay for centralising the channels of cultural communications and for obtaining a legitimate place in the community life of Bombay. A more sparse dispersion may lead to the formation of regional types whose disintegrative tendencies may be checked by concentration of the Sindhis in community settlements everywhere so that they may be able to follow their own patterns of life. Their social transformation has shown tendencies towards urbanisation, cosmopolitanism, rapid educational progress and growing independence of the woman. In urban life, people are more impersonal and maintain a degree of social distance and their ideas are more liberal. In an urban setting of their culture therefore, there will not be much pressure on them for structural modification and they will be able to maintain social cohesion. The unity in this diversity of regional types can be achieved by maintaining close organic relations between the various groups through constant social interaction.

Another solution lies in identifying some of their economic and cultural aspirations with a linguistic society of India and form a group within a bilingual cultural society. This will not

only remove a feeling of insecurity and isolation, but will also strengthen the basis of solidarity within the larger group. Besides the fact that Bombay affords great scope for economic assimilation, it would appear that more than one-third of the Sindhi population has already settled down in the region of the Marathi-speaking people. The numbers could be increased by gradual re-migration within the regional field of this society. Not only their wide dispersion in small numbers in other areas would render concentration in other regions comparatively difficult, but their economic settlement in Bombay and Ulhasnagar renders their absorption in some other society well nigh impossible.

Equally important is the factor of adaptation to the structure of the absorbing society. Adaptation will naturally depend upon the extent to which the aspirations of the Sindhi society are capable of being realised. Since the influx of Sindhis is sufficiently large, a heavy pressure was imposed on the economic structure of the receiving states. The Sindhis by cheap supply of consumer goods had undermined the occupation of the trading communities in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bombay, naturally creating a hostile attitude on the part of the local trading communities. The Mahajans or the trading communities whose influence is wide within their societies, despite their occupational proximity are separated by a wider gulf. It is no wonder then that this should delay the process of assimilation or even render it impossible by creating social consciousness among the Sindhis and by preventing social interaction. The problem of social assimilation is further aggravated by the absence of social proximity between the Sindhi trading society and the trading societies of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bombay. The Mahajans who are mainly vegetarian and widely follow Jainism maintain social distance with the immigrant Sindhi society whose members neither follow the tenets of Jainism nor can follow the puritan ways of life. The only society once again will be the Maharashtrian society which does not present any such problems. By settling down as a trading community within the Maharashtrian society, they can seek cultural resettlement in their structure relatively with lesser pressure for readjustment within its own structure.

Any scheme for reconstruction of the society involves not only the problem of defining the social sphere which determines social solidarity and the goals of its specific pattern but also the means of cultural communication for maintaining organic relations between the scattered groups. The most potent factor in maintaining the organic unity is the language. A controversy is raging between the different groups of Sindhis on the question of script. Those who are in favour of maintaining the Arabic script argue that by adoption of the Devnagri script, the Sindhi language will rapidly disintegrate itself and merge into Hindi. Thus by a gradual loss of identity it will cease to be a connecting link or a distinct mark of Sindhi culture. It is further urged that absence of literature in the Devnagri script will cease to give traditional inspiration and result in poor transmission of culture to the emerging generation. But so long as the Sindhis are scattered in vast areas, the Arabic script will not only cease to be a binding force between the various groups, but will also act as a disintegrative force with the society. Quite a large number of Sindhis do not enjoy the facilities of having Sindhi schools owing to their sparse dispersion, while the long distance in big cities and towns do not make it convenient for many to receive education in the Sindhi schools. There are many still who do not favour the imposition of an additional burden on their children by teaching Sindhi language which could be conveniently dispensed with for attaining educational qualifications. The growing occupational field in service will lead to their sparse distribution with consequent loss of facilities for receiving Sindhi education. But by adoption of Devnagri script, the Sindhis can hope to pull together however far they may be separated from each other. The script is after all for a written expression of thought in a particular form. Even the Sindhi spoken dialect may assimilate various elements of Hindi and regional languages and develop regional types, but its organic unity can be maintained only by the amount of literature which is produced and by standardizing a pattern by its use and emphasis in the literature. The linguistic field of Sindhi is mainly confined within the region of languages of the Aryan family which despite the identity of script have survived through the course of ages.

Though the importance of maintaining the original script is not minimised, its change is essential for achieving a degree of assimilation with the linguistic culture with which the Sindhis may seek to identify some of their cultural aspirations. In developing a bilingual society, closer interaction is necessary for facilitating a closer understanding and achieving a certain level of integration.

There is a strong force in the argument that the change-over to the Devnagri script should not be made without making adequate povision for production of literature in that script. The present generation is the carrier of the old tradition which is intended to be stabilised in literature for transmission to the new generation; and any break in the cultural communication may end in disastrous results The change-over to the Devnagri script is therefore necessarily to be made not only after making progressive provision for literature in the new script but also it should be gradual.

No Less important channel of communication and source of inspiration are the cultural activities. Not only the Sindhi literature has made progress in India but the Sindhi performances and music have been displayed through the radio and films, the production of the latter being never attempted before migration. The rural feminine dances performed during Holi and marriage celebrations which gave joyful expression to the Sindhi festivals can very well be developed into a full-fledged cultural activity distinguished by Sindhi character of development. The male performances can also form important items of cultural activities which will satisfy cravings and maintain the cultural contacts. The extent of interaction also largely depends upon their readjustments, the number of publication of books, papers and journals and the field of participation in social and religious activities in the common celebration of feasts, festivals and fairs and in the temples and common halls serving as effective centres for cultural transmission. Equally important is the formation of educational, social and cultural organisations which not only carry the image of old tradition, but integrate the performance of common roles. The institutions in the forms of schools, colleges, libraries, trusts, associations and co-operatives bind the people an

ize their role performances; and their integration into wider and wider organisation will unmistakably unite them by generalising their cultural norms and patterns.

The *extent of assimilation* with the linguistic cultures will largely depend upon the adaptive social sphere of the Sindhis. It has been already pointed out that their resettlement in the occupational field of the Maharashtrian society will cause relatively less cultural modification. Another step towards assimilation is the learning of regional languages which the Sindhis have adopted everywhere; and the change-over to Devnagri script will be yet another step towards this direction. Their early dispersion in the political institutions of the absorbing societies will integrate them nationally, while their participation in the wider field of economic organisations will bring them closer to the absorbing societies. As an urban culture, the demands for its structural modification may be relatively much less, as pointed out before, yet the outward marks of social distance need to be eliminated so as to become outwardly indistinguishable from the old stock. Identification with the main cultural aspirations of the absorbing society and change in some of the outward habits, and participation in wider social fields and cultural activities are essential for ensuring 'peaceful co-existence' of structural diversities in a bilingual society.

The question of assimilation and the level of cultural integration will naturally depend upon the pattern of culture which the immigrant society tends to evolve. In a scheme of wide dispersion, the pressure of standardising a pattern against the regional forces and constant interaction at a high level between the various groups will always be necessary. An independent group composed of small numbers without a regional settlement in compact area, may not be able to hold fast in an uncertain process of social transformation of the Indian communities. Should the linguistic frontiers of the Indian cultures be invaded, or should they remain neglected by the various states, being considered as an insignificant group of isolated intruders, their secluded position may always place them under a sense of insecurity. By this wide dispersion they are not expected to play any role in the civic and political life of the nation—an irrepair-

able defect in the formation of their character. A certain degree of concentration and identification in higher spheres with the Maharashtrian society therefore appears to be necessary. Surely by settling down as a group within a wider bilingual society, not only will the sense of insecurity be removed and structural stability restored, but they will strengthen their character which they have lost by shrinkage in their civic and political spheres.

No less important than regional settlement of culture is the problem of their cultural rehabilitation. These two problems have pushed back the Sindhis to think in terms of claiming the re-formation of a separate linguistic state.[1] This frustration may be the outcome of their feeling of cultural insecurity for which no solution has yet been found by the Government. The first step towards this direction lies in the recognition of the Sindhi language in the Constitution. A change in the script involves the question of reprinting of the Sindhi literature in the new script.

The Sindhis had an engineering and medical college in Sind where they received full satisfaction of their educational aspirations. In a programme of development, a technological and a medical college in the town of Ulhasnagar will not only ensure the fulfilment of their educational ambitions, but will also adapt them to the changing economic pattern of the Indian society. The development of the township of Ulhasnagar with all civic amenities is no less urgent though their other settlements require to be made as much independent as possible by growth of cottage industries The Sindhis have left many properties which belonged to their panchayats, associations, libraries and trusts. They require sufficient aid in the re-formation of those educational, social and cultural institutions. It is only by the active aid of the Government that the Sindhi culture can be rehabilitated properly.

Much however depends upon the emergent leadership. The determination of their future status must necessarily be through a democratic approach. Confining ourselves to the sociological approach to the problem, their settlement as an independent group or sub-group in a wider society will require the minimising of the gap between the immigrant and the receiving societies. Their cultural resettlement and rehabilitation largely depend upon

their leadership to act in a way so that the ideal is properly attained. Their problem of survival is closely linked up with their character. By determination, endurance and passive courage, the Sindhis have survived the onslaughts of cultural invasions through the ages and so long they preserve these traits of character, their survival is assured. And should they lose this priceless possession in their shipwreck, nothing can prevent their society from destruction.

1. Committee for Sindhi Language and Script, Report, p. 16.

[illegible]

omparative Tables [illegible]
Hindu Castes [illegible]

[illegible] Castes

		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sind	1931	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1921	14,149	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
	1911	13,017	8,1[illegible]	2,9[illegible]	1,[illegible]	2,[illegible]	[illegible]
	1901	7,471	5,905	1,4[illegible]	1,[illegible]	1,[illegible]	[illegible]
	1891	9,659	6,5[illegible]	3,5[illegible]	2,948	1,[illegible]	[illegible]
Karachi	1931	7,235	4,197	25	—	—	—
	1921	7,204	3,860	344	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1911	4,526	2,703	1,192	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1901	1,966	1,633	5[illegible]	4[illegible]	[illegible]	
	1891	5,067*		1,912*		[illegible]*	
Hyderabad	1931	2,311	1,643	—	—	—	—
	1921	799	1,038	455	[illegible]	—	—
	1911	2,741	2,059	1,[illegible]	1,[illegible]	—	—
	1901	1,894	1,[illegible]	414	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1891	3,572*		2,[illegible]*		[illegible]*	
Navabshah	1931	690	74	4	18	—	—
	1921	481	105	80	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	2,857	2,318	55	55	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1921	2,139	2,255	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1911	3,041	1,815	278	[illegible]	7[illegible]1	[illegible]
	1901	1,029	752	303	19[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1891	3,880*		261*		1,0[illegible]*	
Khairpur	1931	224	163	3	1	—	—
	1921	172	117	—	—	—	—
	1911	206	123	160	17	—	—
	1901	123	72	—	—	—	—
	1891	157*		107*		21*	
Larkana	1931	483	343	20	14	—	—
	1921	406	263	—	—	—	—
	1911	531	347	[illegible]	154	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	1,917	1,194	71	27	2	—
	1921	1,777	953	351	312	—	—
	1911	1,927	1,125	787	521	—	—
	1901	2,034	1,816	344	805	409	472
	1891	3,472*		1,309*		78*	

* Persons

		Brahmin		*Sarswat*		*Pushkārna*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
U.S.F.	1931	183	79	4	1	5	2
	1921	233	76	—	—	—	—
	1911	257	138	183	98	—	—
	1901	488	292	38	33	1	—
	1891	382*		101*		24*	

		Bhat		*Bairagi*		*Jogi*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	2,787	2,129	—	—	835	462
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	2,692	1,469	—	—
	1901	1,083	1,563	1,265	922	1,286	1,038
	1891	925	580	696	378	835	462
Karachi	1931	1,525	910	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	929	557	—	—
	1901	222	198	248	203	115	97
	1891	198*		142*		196*	
Hyderabad	1931	292	388	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	763	546	439	309	705	545
	1891	252*		8*		356*	
Navabshah	1931	370	278	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	160	169	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	380	105	34	10	89	43
	1891	156*		47*		202*	
Khairpur	1931	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	36	1	—	—
	1901	60	57	1	—	9	1
	1891	24*		8*		12*	
Larkana	1931	182	90	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Persons

		Bhat		*Bairagi*		*Jogi*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sukkur	1931	253	282	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	101	224
	1891	—	—	—	—	510*	
U.S.F.	1931	5	2	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	18	20	20	13	186	129
	1891	76*		29*		21*	

Trading and Other Castes

		Lohana		*Vania or Bania*		*Thakur*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	2,46,243	2,13,115	—	—	3,636	2,421
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	2,36,223	2,02,433	—	—	—	—
	1901	2,20,041	1,93,008	2,26,033	1,97,786	1,579	1,219
	1891	1,97,340	1,69,966	—	—	829	480
Karachi	1931	28,716	20,571	—	—	1,144	861
	1921	29,221	21,502	—	—	—	—
	1911	27,056	20,707	—	—	—	—
	1901	29,132	23,966	31,806	25,994	520	477
	1891	57,761*		—		528*	
Hyderabad	1931	46,171	47,454	—	—	369	234
	1921	39,125	34,816	—	—	—	—
	1911	72,834	63,927	—	—	—	—
	1901	76,120	71,396	77,414	72,328	76	53
	1891	1,17,068*		—	—	136*	
Navabshah	1931	35,709	31,546	—	—	649	320
	1921	31,223	27,641	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	11,898	7,819	—	—	1,015	407
	1921	11,506	7,981	—	—	—	—
	1911	14,740	10,816	—	—	—	—
	1901	18,253	14,208	18,631	14,441	637	305
	1891	2,815*		—	—	216*	

* Persons

		Lohana		*Vania or Bània*		*Thakur*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Male	Females
Khairpur	1931	14,967	14,845	—	—	326	227
	1921	16,589	15,672	—	—	—	—
	1911	16,996	16,813	—	—	—	—
	1901	16,818	15,799	17,235	16,139	51	62
	1891	23,157*		—	—	48*	
Larkana	1931	48,972	40,967	—	—	148	130
	1921	46,011	38,956	—	—	—	—
	1911	47,105	40,999	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	64,407	56,262	—	—	487	422
	1921	63,540	56,570	—	—	—	—
	1911	64,005	57,858	—	—	—	—
	1901	88,719	77,573	90,159	78,947	346	414
	1891	1,53,766*		—	—	347*	
U.S.F.	1931	10,370	8,496	—	—	84	47
	1921	10,329	8,176	—	—	—	—
	1911	10,488	8,126	—	—	—	—
	1901	7,817	5,865	90,159	78,947	—	—
	1891	12,749*		—	—	34*	

		Sahita		*Bhatia*		*Sanjogi*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	—	—	4,696	4,127	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	3,684	3,367	1,812	1,577
	1901	1,864	1,546	5,295	4,205	11	4
	1891	1,745	1,586	4,461	4,217	1,964	854
Karachi	1931	—	—	640	844	—	—
	1921	—	—	1,109	943	—	—
	1911	—	—	799	786	—	—
	1901	1,746	1,492	2,152	1,634	—	—
	1891	2,737*		2,152*		13*	
Hyderabad	1931	—	—	2,469	2,030	—	—
	1921	—	—	545	612	—	—
	1911	—	—	661	546	—	—
	1901	37	20	1,207	847	—	—
	1891	164*		1,366*		8*	

* Persons

		Sahita		Bhatia		Sanjogi	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Navabshah	1931	—	—	154	127	—	—
	1921	—	—	233	230	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	—	—	114	83	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	81	61	—	—
	1901	57	17	301	200	11	4
	1891	77*		769*		—	—
Khairpur	1931	—	—	129	149	—	—
	1921	—	—	258	296	—	—
	1911	—	—	406	370	—	1
	1901	—	—	417	340	—	—
	1891	—	—	267*		87*	
Larkana	1931	—	—	441	352	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	526	401	1,335	1,184
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	—	—	841	665	—	—
	1921	—	—	1,179	1,043	—	—
	1911	—	—	1,574	1,546	—	—
	1901	30	16	1,424	1,364	—	—
	1891	388*		4,020*		2,620*	
U.S.F.	1931	—	—	37	17	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	43	20	—	—
	1901	—	—	211	161	11	4
	1891	37*		104*		90*	

OTHER CASTES

		Rajput		Bhil		Koli	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	13,764	8,097	39,772	28,191	34,888	25,674
	1921	14,629	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	14,629	9,167	33,258	26,890	—	—
	1901	14,368	11,829	19,313	16,844	17,191	14,935
	1891	21,034*		62,026*		11,101	5,752

* Persons

		Rajput		Bhil		Koli	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Karachi	1931	2,218	948	926	595	1,294	947
	1921	1,641	717	—	—	—	—
	1911	2,227	900	855	689	—	—
	1901	1,503	1,363	1,473	1,513	958	895
	1891	1,570	?	1,271	?	372*	
Hyderabad	1931	1,209	616	6,325	1,005	11,492	5,357
	1921	672	342	7,459	6,032	9,429	7,683
	1911	2,260	1,506	8,815	7,009	—	—
	1901	2,762	1,738	3,533	3,273	8,244	6,626
	1891	1,554*		10,751*		8,976*	
Navabshah	1931	1,178	796	5,237	4,344	3,306	3,055
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	8,001	6,002	26,708	21,891	18,782	16,309
	1921	8,067	5,470	18,535	15,377	15,114	11,907
	1911	8,620	6,047	22,859	18,523	—	—
	1901	8,788	7,687	11,310	9,734	7,078	6,424
	1891	15,855*		26,748*		11,501*	
Khairpur	1931	5	1	67	68	9	8
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	75	34	124	66	—	—
	1901	322	169	43	43	97	53
	1891	33*		146*		—	—
Larkana	1931	453	281	261	138	1	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	103	57	69	63	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	404	147	296	200	513	6
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	895	457	511	458	—	—
	1901	873	750	2,601	2,067	739	885
	1891	828*		723*		1*	
U.S.F.	1931	211	207	19	18	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	524	200	149	148	—	—
	1901	442	291	376	257	172	105
	1891	194*		458*		3*	

* Persons

		Ahir		*Charan*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	3,572	2,441	339	294
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	1,806	1,300
	1901	554	418	2,505	1,820
	1891	509	257	1,341	1,103
Karachi	1931	—	—	140	90
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	122	95	506	433
	1891	443*		249*	
Hyderabad	1931	3,585	2,333	199	182
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	131	86	355	95
	1891	91*		1*	
Navabshah	1931	43	15	28	13
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	64	63	—	—
	1921	—	—	885	641
	1911	—	—	1,186	918
	1901	62	51	1,586	1,184
	1891	14*		2,194*	
Khairpur	1931	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	2	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—
Larkana	1931	22	1	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	35	6	22	9
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	84	83	148	109
	1891	202*		—	—
U.S.F.	1931	3	3	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—
	1901	155	103	—	—
	1891	16*		—	—

* Persons

THE ARTISANS

		Bhansali		Darzi		Dhobi	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
ıd	1931	767	685	626	551	2,394	1,584
	1921	—	—	—	—	1,907	1,145
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	686	508	87	66	1,971	1,468
	1891	—	—	92	26	1,942	1,570
						(Mds. 1054)	
rachi	1931	109	87	462	393	1,051	785
	1921	171	222	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	522	394	75	58	528	425
	1891	—	—	—	—	1,042*	
derabad	1931	658	598	154	6	472	161
	1921	—	—	—	—	744	579
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	84	85	—	—	537	443
	1891	—	—	—	—	954*	
vabshah	1931	—	—	7	—	201	156
	1921	—	—	—	—	68	144
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
ır Parkar	1931	—	—	—	152	395	290
	1921	—	—	—	—	31	172
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	64	18	10	7	546	370
	1891	—	—	118*		1,454*	
airpur	1931	—	—	—	—	1	1
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	3*	
kana	1931	—	—	2	—	204	166
	1921	—	—	—	—	1	1
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
kkur	1931	—	—	1	—	70	24
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	16	11	2	1	115	55
	1891	—	—		—	52*	

* Persons

		Bhansali		Darzi		Dhobi	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
U.S.F.	1931	—	—	—	—	2	2
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	245	178
	1891	—	—	—	—	17*	

		Nai		Kumbhar		Lohar	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	1,237	863	3,840	3,364	2,232	1,714
	1921	—	—	—	—	1,244	1,470
	1911	—	—	—	—	1,387	1,166
	1901	1,011	671	289	210	256	120
	1891	473 (54 Mds.)	377	180	—	1,370 (54 Mds.)	1,024
Karachi	1931	205	348	2,781	2,031	962	558
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	631	484
	1901	22	26	4	1	6	2
	1891	83*		—	—	1,630*	
Hyderabad	1931	223	142	207	205	397	209
	1921	—	—	—	—	34	9
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	215	200	104	85	95	20
	1891	30*		—	—	171*	
Navabshah	1931	134	39	230	107	11	10,
	1921	—	—	—	—	2	45
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	508	322	543	341	825	810
	1921	—	—	—	—	816	813
	1911	—	—	—	—	542	441
	1901	462	218	120	88	148	81
	1891	724*		—	—	541*	
Khairpur	1931	—	—	1	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	18	8	—	—
	1891	17*		—	—	17*	
Larkana	1931	8	—	10	8	10	6
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Persons

		Nai		*Kumbhar*		*Lohar*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sukkur	1931	69	12	61	42	27	22
	1921	—	—	—	—	7	12
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	312	227	47	21	7	8
	1891	9*		—	—	33*	
U.S.F.	1931	—	—	8	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	14	15	—	—
	1891	4*		—	—	11*	

		Sonar		*Sutar*		*Kori*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	3,519	2,909	5,984	4,271	586	369
	1921	3,834	2,883	3,603	1,871	—	—
	1911	5,309	4,147	3,390	2,460	—	—
	1901	4,609	3,778	1,551	1,360	455	370
	1891	1,986	2,145	3,054	1,735	5,172	4,296
Karachi	1931	730	600	4,001	2,661	228	197
	1921	750	596	2,002	425	—	—
	1911	689	409	1,085	810	—	—
	1901	897	801	1	—	221	158
	1891	744*		1,031*		920*	
Hyderabad	1931	606	588	337	291	196	71
	1921	838	579	164	515	—	—
	1911	1,828	1,508	—	—	—	—
	1901	1,553	1,449	131	126	75	53
	1891	742*		933*		3,046*	
Navabshah	1931	420	375	203	201	54	18
	1921	463	385	103	44	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	670	465	1,243	1,118	20	23
	1921	666	495	1,333	1,348	—	—
	1911	712	609	1,503	1,061	—	—
	1901	626	392	669	481	133	138
	1891	906*		2,717*		1,037*	
Khairpur	1931	149	125	9	1	—	—
	1921	3	1	—	—	—	—
	1911	245	226	—	—	—	—
	1901	70	50	5	6	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	239*	

* Persons

		Sonar		Sutar		Kori	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Larkana	1931	253	243	—	—	—	—
	1921	229	224	2	3	—	—
	1911	645	468	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	791	619	—	—	50	42
	1921	893	609	—	—	—	—
	1911	1,469	1,135	—	—	—	—
	1901	1,465	936	943	744	26	21
	1891	1,611*		108*		3,776*	
U.S.F.	1931	40	19	—	—	—	—
	1921	20	11	—	—	—	—
	1911	56	18	—	—	—	—
	1901	388	202	7	9	—	—
	1891	128*		—	—	450*	

		Od		Kuchhria		Mali	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	5,096	4,086	345	174	532	351
	1921	—	—	—	—	1,931	1,623
	1911	—	—	—	—	2,564	2,104
	1901	2,704	1,960	—	—	1,019	884
	1891	4,250 (Mds. 5,201)	2,731	—	—	1,398	1,075
Karachi	1931	133	72	314	174	157	21
	1921	122	138	—	—	235	151
	1911	224	202	—	—	—	—
	1901	109	92	—	—	8	—
	1891	238*		—	—	261*	
Hyderabad	1931	302	314	—	—	123	82
	1921	—	—	—	—	82	69
	1911	606	555	—	—	—	—
	1901	944	605	—	—	776	564
	1891	2,334*		—	—	606*	
Navabshah	1931	441	392	20	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	24	3
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	2,474	2,071	—	—	240	221
	1921	2,469	2,035	—	—	1,623	1,290
	1911	2,065	1,748	—	—	1,708	1,267
	1901	863	551	—	—	187	223
	1891	2,235*		—	—	1,527*	

* Persons

		Od		*Kuchharia*		*Mali*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Khairpur	1931	136	119	—	—	—	—
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	347	312	—	—	—	—
	1901	120	158	—	—	4	—
	1891	15*	—	—	—	—	—
Larkana	1931	412	126	—	—	12	17
	1921	—	—	—	—	17	10
	1911	859	706	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	630	496	—	—	—	—
	1921	269	214	—	—	10	—
	1911	587	463	—	—	—	—
	1901	706	632	—	—	72	58
	1891	1,566*		—	—	92*	
U.S.F.	1931	136	119	—	—	—	—
	1921	629	491	—	—	—	—
	1911	829	728	—	—	—	—
	1901	77	50	—	—	36	29
	1891	53*		—	—	3*	

		Vaghri		*Wanhan*		*Mochi & Sochi*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	1,486	2,264	—	—	1,461	1,789
	1921	—	—	—	—	622	782
	1911	—	—	—	—	2,150	1,702
	1901	—	—	82	86	880	787
	1891	—	—	1,085	911	2,394	2,396
						(Mds. 3,562)	
Karachi	1931	670	154	—	—	1,461	1,789
	1921	—	—	—	—	115	19
	1911	—	—	—	—	655	557
	1901	—	—	29	23	174	149
	1891	—	—	1,404*		350*	
Hyderabad	1931	489	686	—	—	415	527
	1921	—	—	—	—	270	324
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	30	57	343	415
	1891	—	—	493*		2,185*	
Navabshah	1931	5	—	—	—	321	307
	1921	—	—	—	—	83	94
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Persons

		Vaghri		Wanhan		Mochi & Sochi	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Thar Parkar	1931	—	—	—	—	62	85
	1921	—	—	—	—	41	15
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	213	115
	1891	—	—	2*		61*	
Khairpur	1931	—	—	—	—	1	4
	1921	—	—	—	—	7	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Larkana	1931	322	583	—	—	131	124
	1921	—	—	—	—	8	10
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sukkur	1931	—	—	—	—	106	145
	1921	—	—	—	—	105	320
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	19	—	59	64
	1891	—	—	80*		8,187*	
U.S.F.	1931	—	—	—	—	37	24
	1921	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	4	6	91	44
	1891	—	—	17*		307*	

MENIALS ETC.

		Bhangi or Shikari		Mahar		Mang or Madig	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Sind	1931	5,569	3,993	6,975	5,282	206	172
	1921	—	—	(with Kunbi)		—	—
	1911	3,961	2,281	10,288 (C 1921)	8,594	—	—
	1901	2,395	1,978	205	149	—	—
	1891	20,642	17,200	7,309	6,813	39	18
Karachi	1931	2,119	1,453	6,691	5,144	203	169
	1921	—	—	966	791	—	—
	1911	1,390	758	—	—	—	—
	1901	486	365	204	147	—	—
	1891	6,548*		637*		33*	

* Persons

		Menghwal		*Dhed*		*Chamar*	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Karachi	1931	2,209	1,833	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	4,143	3,705	—	—
	1891	2,868*		95*		139*	do.
Hyderabad	1931	8,562	7,638	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	13,502	10,716	—	—
	1891	23,918*		22*		210*	do.
Navabshah	1931	3,027	3,616	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	—	—	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thar Parkar	1931	18,614	16,683	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	17,345	13,882	—	—
	1891	2,708*		—	—	5,870*	do.
Khairpur	1931	389	376	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	210	159	—	—
	1891	701*		472*		—	do.
Larkana	1931	—	—	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1891	—	—	—	—	—	do.
Sukkur	1931	1,524	1,360	—	—	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	3,370	3,031	—	—
	1891	842*		3,702*		41*	do.
U.S.F.	1931	496	272	—	do.	do.	do.
	1921	—	—	do.	do.	do.	do.
	1911	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1901	—	—	559	373	—	—
	1891	209*		466*		19*	do.

* Persons

MINOR CASTES

Religious Caste	Census Year	Population Males	Population Females	Districts in which mainly found
Sanyasi	1891	1,224	552	Sindh
Gusain	1901	953	666	,,
	1891	592	329	do.
Gur ...	1901	815	418	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar.
	1891	59	32	do.
Gurpota ...	1901	203	118	do.
	1891	30	10	do.
Jagiasi ...	1901	700	363	do.
	1891	420	207	do.
Jajik ...	1901	212	232	do.
	1891	150	139	do.
Masand ...	1901	159	119	Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
	1891	68	57	Sukkur, Whole Province.
Nanga ...	1901	100	3	Hyderabad.
	1891	66	17	do.
Udasi ...	1901	1,152	380	Sind.
	1891	802	322	do.
Fakir ...	1891	550	303	Karachi, U.S.F.
Nath ...	1891	58	10	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Brahamchari	1891	8	—	
Telaraji ...	1891	127	113	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Jagiri ? ...	1901	191	527	Sind.
Jangam ...	1891	39	53	Karachi.
Suthria ...	1901	154	82	Sind.
Brahmins				
Vishwa ...	1931	106	88	Karachi, Whole Province.
Chambri ...	1891	117	92	Thar Parkar, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
Chambod ...	1891	15	7	do. do. Karachi.
Dravid ...	1891	1	25	Karachi, Whole Province.
Gaud ...	1891	266	99	do. Hyderabad, Sukkuar.
Karnigar ...	1891	70	35	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar, Sukkur.
Rajgar ...	1891	111	83	Thar Parkar, Karachi.
Shrimali ...	1891	9	1	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Artisans				
Teli ...	1931	321	223	Karachi.
Kahar ...	1901	70	49	Sind.
	1891	26	—	do.
Kalal ...	1901	856	822	Hyderabad.
Kunbi ...	1901	3	—	Karachi.
	1891	1,549	756	do.
Kurmi ...	1921	487	100	do.
	1901	4,908	4,098	Sind.
	1891	227	46	Karachi.
Pinjara ...	1901	8	3	Sind.
	1891	344	491	do.
Bansari ...	1891	2,079	1,811	Karachi, Hyderabad.

* Persons

MINOR CASTES

Religious Caste	Census Year	Population		Districts in which mainly found
		Males	Females	
Sanyasi	1891	1,224	552	Sindh
Gusain	1901	953	666	"
	1891	592	329	do.
Gur ...	1901	815	418	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar.
	1891	59	32	do.
Gurpota ...	1901	203	118	do.
	1891	30	10	do.
Jagiasi ...	1901	700	363	do.
	1891	420	207	do.
Jajik ...	1901	212	232	do.
	1891	150	139	do.
Masand ...	1901	159	119	Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
	1891	68	57	Sukkur, Whole Province.
Nanga ...	1901	100	3	Hyderabad.
	1891	66	17	do.
Udasi ...	1901	1,152	380	Sind.
	1891	802	322	do.
Fakir ...	1891	550	303	Karachi, U.S.F.
Nath ...	1891	58	19	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Brahamchari	1891	8	—	
Telaraji ...	1891	127	113	Karachi, Hyderabad.
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Chambri ...	1891	117	62	Thar Parkar, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
Chambod ...	1891	15	7	do. do. Karachi.
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Rajgar ...	1891	111	83	Thar Parkar, Karachi.
Shrimali ...	1891	9	1	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Artisans				
Teli ...	1931	321	223	Karachi.
Kahar ...	1901	79	49	Sind.
	1891	26	—	do.
Kalal ...	1901	856	822	Hyderabad.
Kunbi ...	1901	3	—	Karachi.
	1891	1,549	756	do.
Kurmi ...	1921	487	100	do.
	1901	4,908	4,093	Sind.
	1891	227	46	Karachi.
Pinjara ...	1901	8	3	Sind.
	1891	344	491	do.
Bansari ...	1891	2,079	1,811	Karachi, Hyderabad.

* Persons

MINOR CASTES

Religious Caste		*Census Year*	*Population*		*Districts in which mainly found*
			Males	Females	
Sanyasi		1891	1,224	552	Sindh
Gusain		1901	953	666	,,
		1891	592	329	do.
Gur	...	1901	815	418	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar.
		1891	59	32	do.
Gurpota	...	1901	203	118	do.
		1891	30	10	do.
Jagiasi	...	1901	700	363	do.
		1891	420	207	do.
Jajik	...	1901	212	232	do.
		1891	150	139	do.
Masand	...	1901	159	119	Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
		1891	68	57	Sukkur, Whole Province.
Nanga	...	1901	100	3	Hyderabad.
		1891	66	17	do.
Udasi	...	1901	1,152	380	Sind.
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Jagiri ?	...	1901	191	527	Sind.
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Brahmins					
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Chambri	...	1891	117	62	Thar Parkar, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
Chambod	...	1891	15	7	do. do. Karachi.
Dravid	...	1891	1	25	Karachi, Whole Province.
Gaud	...	1891	266	99	do. Hyderabad, Sukkuar.
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Rajgar	...	1891	111	83	Thar Parkar, Karachi.
Shrimali	...	1891	9	1	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Artisans					
Teli	...	1931	321	223	Karachi.
Kahar	...	1901	79	49	Sind.
		1891	26	—	do.
Kalal	...	1901	856	822	Hyderabad.
Kunbi	...	1901	3	—	Karachi.
		1891	1,549	756	do.
Kurmi	...	1921	487	100	do.
		1901	4,908	4,093	Sind.
		1891	227	46	Karachi.
Pinjara	...	1901	8	3	Sind.
		1891	344	491	do.
Bansari	...	1891	2,079	1,811	Karachi, Hyderabad.

* Persons

Religious Caste	*Census Year*	*Population*		*Districts in which mainly found*
		Males	Females	
Non-Priestly Castes				
Rathor ...	1911	884	1,002	Thar Parkar, Whole Province.
Arora ...	1901	963	750	Sukkur, Hyderabad.
Bhabhra ...	1901	220	158	Karachi, Hyderabad.
	1891	54	70	do. do.
Khatri ...	1901	4,138	3,198	Sind.
	1891	6,280	5,937	do.
Kamathi ...	1901	16	19	Hyderabad.
	1891	181	171	Karachi.
Mahratta ...	—	—	—	—
Sikh ...	1901	4,568	3,456	Karachi, Hyderabad.
	1891	8,375*		do. Sukkur.
Jat ...	1891	76,839*		Sind.
Kirar ...	1891	2,200	2,111	Thar Parkar (Lohana).
Bhagat ...	1891	81	41	Karachi.
Sheikh ...	1891	2,677	1,470	Sukkur, Khairpur.
Mirashi ...	1891	659	479	Karachi, Hyderabad, Khairpur.
Lingayat ...	1901	97	28	Karachi.
Menials, etc.				
Aboriginal ...	1931	63,868	46,206	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar, Navabshah.
Dhodhia ...	1931	401	472	Karachi.
Dhulia ...	1931	179	137	Karachi, Whole Province.
Ghuhar ...	1901	5	26	Sukkur.
Mangri	1891	1,377	2,265	Karachi, Sukkur, U.S.F.
Kasai ...	1891	13*		
Bazigar ...	1891	138*		Karachi, Thar Parkar, Hyderabad
Parwari ...	1891	411	218	Karachi, Hyderabad, Whole Province.
Unclassified				
Agri ...	1931	4,333	2,347	Whole Province, Karachi.
Valmiki ...	1931	658	598	do.
Bajirs ...	1911	732	1,037	Thar Parkar.
Gend. ...	1901	39	28	Karachi, Whole Province.
Jatia ...	1901	411	635	Hyderabad.
Sanelia ...	1901	1,940	1,233	Sind.
Oswal ...	1901	63	15	Thar Parkar, Whole Province.
	1891	130	51	do.
Narspin ...	1901	3	—	Hyderabad, Whole Province.
Viga .	1901	202	135	Karachi, Hyderabad, Whole Province
Ansari ..	1891	740	824	Sukkur, Hyderabad.
Chavar ...	1891	1,301	1,310	Sukkur, Thar Parkar, Karachi.

* Persons

MINOR CASTES

Religious Caste	Census Year	Population		Districts in which mainly found
		Males	Females	
Sanyasi	1891	1,224	552	Sindh
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	1891	59	32	do.
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Brahamchari	1891	8	—	
Telaraji ...	1891	127	113	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Jagiri ? ...	1901	191	527	Sind.
Jangam ...	1891	39	53	Karachi.
Suthria ...	1901	154	82	Sind.
Brahmins				
Vishwa ...	1931	106	88	Karachi, Whole Province.
Chambri ...	1891	117	82	Thar Parkar, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
Chambod ...	1891	15	7	do. do. Karachi.
Dravid ...	1891	1	25	Karachi, Whole Province.
Gaud ...	1891	266	99	do. Hyderabad, Sukkuar.
Karnigar ...	1891	70	35	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar, Sukkur.
Rajgar ...	1891	111	83	Thar Parkar, Karachi.
Shrimali ...	1891	9	1	Karachi, Hyderabad.
Artisans				
Teli ...	1931	321	223	Karachi.
Kahar ...	1901	79	49	Sind.
	1891	26	—	do.
Kalal ...	1901	856	622	Hyderabad.
Kunbi ...	1901	3	—	Karachi.
	1891	1,549	730	do.
Kurmi ...	1921	487	100	do.
	1901	4,908	4,093	Sind.
	1891	227	46	Karachi.
Pinjara ...	1901	8	3	Sind.
	1891	344	491	do.
Bansari ...	1891	2,079	1,811	Karachi, Hyderabad.

* Persons

Religious Caste	Census Year	Population		Districts in which mainly found
		Males	Females	
Non-Priestly Castes				
Rathor ...	1911	884	1,002	Thar Parkar, Whole Province.
Arora ...	1901	963	750	Sukkur, Hyderabad.
Bhabhra ...	1901	220	158	Karachi, Hyderabad.
	1891	54	70	do. do.
Khatri ...	1901	4,139	3,198	Sind.
	1891	6,280	5,957	do.
Kamathi ...	1901	16	19	Hyderabad.
	1891	181	171	Karachi.
Mahratta ...	—	—	—	—
Sikh ...	1901	4,568	3,456	Karachi, Hyderabad.
	1891	8,375*		do. Sukkur.
Jat ...	1891	76,839*		Sind.
Kirar ...	1891	2,200	2,111	Thar Parkar (Lohana).
Bhagat ...	1891	81	41	Karachi.
Sheikh ...	1891	2,677	1,476	Sukkur, Khairpur.
Mirashi ...	1891	659	470	Karachi, Hyderabad, Khairpur.
Lingayat ...	1901	97	28	Karachi.
Menials, etc.				
Aboriginal ...	1931	65,868	46,206	Hyderabad, Thar Parkar, Navabshah.
Dhodhia ...	1931	401	472	Karachi.
Dhulia ...	1931	179	187	Karachi, Whole Province.
Ghuhar ...	1901	5	26	Sukkur.
Mangri	1891	1,577	2,265	Karachi, Sukkur, U.S.F.
Kasai ..	1891	13*		
Bazigar ...	1891	138*		Karachi, Thar Parkar, Hyderabad
Parwari ...	1891	441	216	Karachi, Hyderabad, Whole Province.
Unclassified				
Agri ...	1931	4,333	2,347	Whole Province, Karachi.
Valmiki ...	1931	658	598	do.
Bajirs ...	1911	752	1,057	Thar Parkar.
Gend. ...	1901	59	29	Karachi, Whole Province.
Jatia ...	1901	411	635	Hyderabad.
Sanelia ...	1901	1,040	1,233	Sind.
Oswal ..	1901	63	15	Thar Parkar, Whole Province.
	1891	130	51	do.
Narspin ..	1901	3	—	Hyderabad, Whole Province.
Viga	1901	202	135	Karachi, Hyderabad, Whole Province.
Ansari ...	1891	740	824	Sukkur, Hyderabad.
Chavar ...	1891	1,361	1,310	Sukkur, Thar Parkar, Karachi

* Persons

APPENDIX B

TABLE I.

Distribution by Sex and Livelihood Classes, of D.Ps., Census of India, 1951

(West and Central India)

Name of State	Total	Total Displaced Persons		Persons from Sind		*Agricultural Classes* I. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.		II. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly un-owned and their dependents.		III. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.		IV. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bombay	3,38,096	1,79,770	1,58,326	1,44,983	1,32,284	2,328	2,121	704	656	236	217	150	194
Saurashtra	59,787	31,302	28,485	26,176	23,926	425	367	40	42	68	42	43	40
Kutch	11,999	6,432	5,567	5,274	4,942	438	386	289	271	133	142	30	36
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,771	61,073	51,698	40,528	34,760	249	206	69	67	106	63	14	11
Madhya Bharat	63,996	33,607	30,389	19,288	18,044	149	115	242	212	153	84	52	52
Hyderabad	4,156	2,460	1,696	1,351	974	7	12	6	6	6	—	5	5
Bhopal	17,012	9,228	7,784	6,309	5,466	467	418	145	132	448	401	65	53
Vindhya Pradesh	14,837	8,074	6,763	5,882	5,335	212	199	68	58	13	10	7	8
Rajasthan	2,97,016	1,56,942	1,40,074	54,574	49,310	30,393	35,509	28,274	24,867	8,164	7,101	1,091	1,298
Ajmer	71,351	36,879	34,472	25,029	21,885	119	268	106	32	29	16	111	103

TABLE I—contd.

Name of State	*Non-Agricultural Classes* — Persons (including dependents) who derive their principal means of livelihood from: V. Production other than cultivation		VI. Commerce		VII. Transport		VIII. Other services and miscellaneous sources	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bombay	24,268	19,613	72,316	63,304	7,709	6,117	72,039	66,042
Saurashtra	4,367	4,126	16,272	14,135	743	693	9,129	9,040
Kutch	1,441	1,239	844	698	106	174	3,061	2,601
Madhya Pradesh	6,288	3,193	39,109	32,824	2,760	2,104	12,478	10,030
Madhya Bharat	6,448	5,710	17,954	16,417	1,694	1,326	6,915	6,267
Hyderabad	232	155	1,280	934	70	31	854	333
Bhopal	759	347	3,543	3,080	339	214	3,463	2,943
Vindhya Pradesh	581	430	3,729	4,749	264	206	1,290	1,088
Rajasthan	13,140	11,271	39,129	34,060	2,941	2,564	24,810	22,504
Ajmer	7,435	7,082	13,699	13,032	2,401	1,843	10,979	11,176

TABLE II.

Distribution by Civil Condition, Census of India, 1951

(West and Central India)

Name of State	*Total Displaced Persons*											
	Total			Persons from Sind			Unmarried		Married		Widowed or Divorced	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bombay	3,38,096	1,79,770	1,58,326	2,77,267	1,44,983	1,32,284	96,439	66,402	75,115	71,704	8,216	20,220
Saurashtra ...	59,787	31,302	28,485	50,102	26,176	23,926	15,954	12,363	13,640	12,407	1,708	3,715
Kutch	11,999	6,432	5,567	10,216	5,274	4,942	3,179	2,186	2,950	2,702	303	679
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,771	61,073	51,698	75,288	40,528	34,760	29,143	18,940	28,606	27,926	3,324	4,832
Madhya Bharat ...	63,996	33,607	30,389	37,332	19,288	18,044	16,723	11,361	15,333	15,081	1,551	3,947
Hyderabad ...	4,156	2,460	1,696	2,325	1,351	974	1,166	746	1,197	805	97	145
Bhopal	17,012	9,228	7,784	11,775	6,309	5,466	4,578	2,948	4,294	3,947	356	889
Vindhya Pradesh	14,837	8,074	6,763	11,217	5,882	5,335	3,267	2,390	4,500	3,736	307	637
Rajasthan ...	2,97,016	1,56,942	1,40,074	1,03,884	54,574	49,310	68,877	53,089	78,597	72,249	9,468	14,736
Ajmer ...	71,351	36,879	34,472	46,914	25,029	21,885	14,899	12,033	18,115	17,858	3,865	4,581

TABLE III.

Size of Family, D.P. Census, 1948

Sl. No. Provinces/ States	Size of Family											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Ajmer-Merwara	1,505	2,824	2,022	3,148	2,774	2,275	1,704	1,326	623	371	184	121
2. Baroda State	103	373	531	611	574	454	390	202	190	116	71	44
3. Bombay ...	4,310	5,834	7,004	7,054	7,417	6,385	4,669	3,529	2,086	1,207	803	513
4. C.P. & Berar	970	1,892	2,623	2,920	2,806	2,278	1,628	1,102	658	454	245	118
5. Jaipur State ...	313	884	1,208	1,424	1,385	1,247	916	765	393	288	187	115
6. Jodhpur State	337	755	1,105	1,271	1,270	915	756	706	144	243	136	120
7. Madhya Bharat Union ...	772	1,266	1,556	1,737	1,699	1,371	1,029	841	432	308	187	122
8. Matsya Union	993	1,832	2,053	2,119	1,676	1,404	913	517	390	135	75	37
9. Rajasthan Union ...	348	623	787	913	801	778	511	435	287	155	109	86
10. Saurashtra Union .	287	815	1,098	1,158	1,074	886	627	437	219	156	80	74
11. Vindhya Pradesh ...	123	278	383	455	377	309	201	176	79	58	32	26

TABLE IV.

Distribution by Literacy, Census of India, 1951

Name of State	Total Displaced Population									
	Total			Persons from Sind			Literate		Illiterate	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bombay	3,38,096	1,79,770	1,58,326	2,77,267	1,44,983	1,32,284	1,22,513	65,535	57,257	92,791
Saurashtra	59,787	31,302	28,485	50,102	26,176	23,926	16,662	7,774	14,640	20,711
Kutch	11,999	6,432	5,567	10,216	5,274	4,942	3,142	1,177	3,290	4,390
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,771	61,073	51,698	75,288	40,528	34,760	40,708	15,449	20,365	36,249
Madhya Bharat	63,996	33,607	30,389	37,332	19,288	18,044	19,572	8,497	14,035	21,892
Hyderabad	4,156	2,460	1,696	2,325	1,351	974	1,897	893	563	803
Bhopal	17,012	9,228	7,784	11,775	6,309	5,466	5,031	1,390	4,197	6,394
Vindhya Pradesh	14,837	8,074	6,763	11,217	5,882	5,335	4,222	1,127	3,852	5,636
Rajasthan	2,97,016	1,56,942	1,40,074	1,03,884	54,574	49,310	47,478	15,806	1,09,464	1,24,268
Ajmer	71,351	36,879	34,472	46,914	25,029	21,885	23,676	10,069	13,203	24,403

APPENDIX C

Sections or *nukhs* of the Bhatia caste*

1. RAI GAJARIA.
2. RAI HARIA from Rai Harising, a *bhagat*.
3. RAI SAPAT; from Sapta, a village of Marwar, the home of Bima a Bhati. The Bhatia of Sapta were great devotees of Devi and as such held in great respect.
4. RAI PARAL-SAURIA; the sept of the five heroes, Jasaji, Rawalji, Nawalsingh, Jodhraj and Birsingh, who fell bravely fighting in Jaisalmir. Bahadarsingh belonged to this *nukh*. All the above *nukhs* affect Devi.
5. RAI RAMAYA: Agai-raj, brother of Ramchandar was a great *bhagat* who was ever repeating Ram's name.
6. RAI PADAMSI, from Padams Bhati, who fell bravely fighting in the battle. He had a son Udherai.
7. RAI PALEJA, from Paleja a village, the home of Parma Bhati, in Marwar.
8. RAI VED (WAID), from Mansing, son of Meghraj Bhati, who was killed in *Waidak* (physic); all the Bhatis who joined him became Rai by sept.
9. RAI SURYA, from Sura Bhati who fell in battle.
10. RAI DITYA, from Duta a village, the home of Arjan Bhati, a *bhagat* of Devi.
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible] favour.
22. RAI SONI, from Son a village whose spokesman was Ratan Rai Bhati.
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]
31. RAI DHAWAN, from Dhawan Rai, who was famed for his generosity. He had a son Megha.
32. RAI DEVLA, from a famous Deval Bhati, who lived in the village of Ganth.
33. RAI JIA, from Jia Chadak, a cultivator, who lived in the Marwar Thali.
34. RAI BAURA, from Baura, a village in the Thali.
35. RAI DHAGE, from Dhaga Bhati, who fell bravely in battle.

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The last section is named by the compiler

36. Rai Kandhya, from Shuja Bhati, who, though his forehead was split in the Jaisalmir war, yet his trunk fought on for a long while.
37. Rai Rathia, from Rathia Bhati, of Ratnar, a village in the Thati of Marwar. He was famous for his hospitality.
38. Rai Kajria, from Kajarya, a village towards Multan where Mansing *mukhia* lived. He had seven sons, all called *mukhias*.
39. Rai Sijwala, who were proficient in archery.
40. Rai Jabala, from Jabala, a village in Sindh.
41. Rai Malan, from Malan, a family of Gogla village, whose members knew antidotes to poisons.
42. Rai Dhaba, from Dhaba *mukhia* of Rori village, who raised camels there.
43. Rai Dhiran, from Dhiran Bhati, who fell in battle. He had a son Udhe Rai.
44. Rai Bhagta, from Bhagtanand Bhati, who showed great valour in the Jaisalmir war.
45. Rai Bira, from Bira Bhati, who showed great valour in battle. He was a *bhagat* of Devi.
46. Rai Thula, from Thula, a village of the Thati.
47. Rai Sodhaya, from Sodha, a caste, Singh Mal Bhati having married the daughter of a Sodhi Rajput.
48. Rai Bura, from Bura Bhati of Bakhar village.
49. Rai Muchha, from Arjan Bhati, who was nick-named Arjan Muchha, as he had long moustaches. He was a *bhagat* of Jasra Devi, and wore the 5 *kes*.
50. Rai Tamboli, from Nanda and Niga, *tambolis* (betelnut-sellers). They were *bhagats* of Shiva.
51. Rai Thakar.
52. Rai Bisnaw, from Bisanwant Bhati, who was a man of great good fortune. He had four sons. All the members of this family specially worshipped Ram Chandr and in one year 107 sons used to be born to it.
53. Rai Bhudria, from Bhudar, a Bhati.
54. Rai Indhar, from Indhar, a branch of the Bhatis.
55. Rai Dhadhal, from Dhadhala village, the home of Rama Bhati.
56. Rai Bea Chandr, from Bega and Chanda, Bhatis, who were customs collectors.
57. Rai Bipal, from Bipal, the residence of Kunbha and Kana, Bhatis.
58. Rai Potha, from the brothers Potha, Parma and Naga, Bhatis.
59. Rai Premla, from Prema and Parma, Bhati Rajputs of Rasa village.
60. Rai Purdhaga, from Puradh, a *yag*, performed by Kana and Kumbha, Bhatis, who were followers of Guru Nanak.
61. Rai Madhra, from Madhra Bhati, a servant of a Khan at Multan, who gave much in alms.
62. Rai Pharas Gandi, from Pharas, the name of Jita Mal, Bhati, who had transactions with Maujud Khan in Multan. He had perfumes, oil and *attar*.
63. Rai Puri Gandi, from Pare, a Bhati, performer of Raipul.
64. Rai Jujar Gandi, from Jujar village, the residence of Ajit Singh and Rangha, Bhatis, who sold perfumes.
65. Rai Panwar, from Panwar, a branch of the Bhati.
66. Rai Prema Suj, from Prema and Suja, the sons of Gondha Bhati.
67. Rai Raja, from Raja, a village in Marwar.
68. Rai Parjia, from Parja, a caste. Rasan, son of Bhimsingh, Bhati, in a fight with robbers killed 100 of them, while on his side only two of his 5 sons and 6 Bhatis fell.
69. Rai Kupwar, from Kapura, a Bhati, who attained a great age.
70. Rai Dhadar, from Dhadar, a village in the Punjab.
71. Rai Kartarya, from Kartarya, the family name of one Kana Bhati.

72. Rai Goola.
73. Rai Kukar, from Kukar, a village in the Punjab.
74. Rai Multani, from Multan where Jodu Rai, a Bhati clothier and his family lived.
75. [illegible]
76 [illegible]
77. [illegible]
78. [illegible]
79. [illegible]
80. [illegible] hired them
81. Rai Balai, from Balaya-kar, a village in the Punjab which was the *home of Bhan, son of Bhojraj*
82. Rai Pawar, from Pawri village, the home of Preman and Parman.
83. Rai Kina, from Kina (enmity). The family of Musa destroyed their enemy.
84. Rai Kazia, from Kazi. Irmal Bhati, who worked as a clerk under a *kazi* of Bahawalpur.
85. Rai Mota, from Moti, daughter of Narumal Sohana, a resident of Multan.

APPENDIX D

Totems of Thakurs of Thar and Parkar districts before migration.

1. Parmar
2. Manang
3. Bhojraj
4. Surjmal
5. Gangdhas
6. Ram
7. Bajria
8. Maldev
9. Naro
10. Tabo
11. Sadvar
12. Sangrami
13. Nangar
14. Thiryo
15. Dodo
16. Jesso
17. Dipo
18. Asikar
19. Trsingh
20. Dalo
21. Bharmal
22. Barjang
23. Varina
24. Mahar
25. Dopat
26. Kotryo
27. Khauryo
28. Barmero
29. Mahecho
30. Jodho
31. Mereto
32. Chopavat
33. Kavapavanat
34. Sikhavat
35. Bhati
36. Jago
37. Gheliryo
38. Gonkh
39. Sujodeo
40. Mehajar
41. Talh
42. Chebhan
43. Parhyar
44. Dharo
45. Buta
46. Baraj
47. Nangya
48. Jesar
49. Abseta
50. Khanghar
51. Dhandhal
52. Vaghelo
53. Sindhal
54. Birbadar
55. Abro
56. Ajardev
57. Lumba
58. Akha
59. Nada
60. Rata
61. Dera
62. Uda
63. Bida
64. Luna
65. Muda
66. Sumar
67. Inda
68. Bhana
69. Valya
70. Kandakhra
71. Bhana
72. Chaura
73. Mirvirya
74. Hala
75. Mongalya
76. Kholar
77. Gohil
78. Khartar
79. Rathor
80. Ahiri

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INDEX

A—*concld.*

B

B—*contd*

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C

C—contd.

C—concld.

D

D—*concld.*

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G—*concld*

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H—*concld.*

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